Foundations for Syriac Lexicography II

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Syriac Lexicography II

Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project

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ABBREVIATIONS

act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Anc. Doc.	Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*
Aphr.	Wright, *The Homilies of Aphraates*
BDAG	Danker et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd edition, 2000)
comp.	compound
conj.	conjunction
CSD	J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*
def.	definite article
emph.; emph. st.	emphatic state
JB	Jerusalem Bible
Jos. Styl.	Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*
KPG	Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*
m.	masculine
NA27	Nestle–Aland, 27th edition of the Greek New Testament
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
no c.	no correspondence
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Ov.	Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, Aliorumque Opera Selecta*
part.	participle
POS	part of speech
prep.	preposition
REB	Revised English Bible
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SFG	Aland, *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*
Spic.	Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*
SQE	Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*
subst.	substantive
Syrc	Curetonian Version, ed. Burkitt
Syrh	Harklean Version, ed. Juckel in Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*

Syr[p]   Peshitta Version, ed. Pusey–Gwilliam (Gospels), and British and Foreign Bible Society (rest of the New Testament)
Syr[s]   Sinaitic Version, ed. Lewis
Thesaurus Syriacus   R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*
trans.   transitive
v.l.   variant reading

For sigla used in pages 122–126 see the Introduction to NA[27]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SERIES PREFACE

ܡܢܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܟܬܒܘ ܐܚܕ̈ܐ: ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܒܝ ܡܦܩܕܗ܇ ܐܡܪܘ: ܐܣܬܪ ܪܚܬܐ ܐܘܟܕ̈ܐ܇
ܘܐܣܬܪ ܠܡܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܐܚܕܐ܀

Some have expounded ideas, some have corrected words, others have composed chronicles,
and still others love to write lexica.

Bar 'Ebroyo (1226–1286), *Storehouse of Mysteries*

> When I took the first survey of my undertaking, I found our speech copious
> without order, and energetick without rules: wherever I turned my view, there was
> perplexity to be disentangled, and confusion to be regulated; choice was to be made
> out of boundless variety, without any established principle of selection;
> adulterations were to be detected, without a settled test of purity; and modes of
> expression to be rejected or received, without the suffrages of any writers of
> classical reputation or acknowledged authority.

Samuel Johnson, 'Preface' to *A Dictionary of the English Language*

Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics contains peer-reviewed essay collections, monographs, and
reference works that have relevance to Classical Syriac lexicography. It is a publication of the
International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), an interdisciplinary group which meets
annually to reconsider the theory and practice of Classical Syriac lexicography, and to lay the
foundations for a future comprehensive Syriac-English lexicon.

Lexicography, the art and science of dictionary making, became a serious discipline
about three centuries ago. Compared to the evolution of human language which may go
back as far as 100,000 years, it began only yesterday. Modern linguistics, the science of the
study of language, is even more recent, beginning in the 1830's and experiencing relatively
rapid growth in the latter half of the twentieth century. The birth of modern linguistics gave
rise to lexicography being viewed as one of its sub-disciplines. Today, lexicography is a
mature discipline in its own right. However, the interrelationship between the two remains as
important as ever, for sound lexicography requires sound linguistic theory. The aim of this
series is therefore to address the discipline of lexicography and issues of linguistics as they
relate to a contemporary approach to lexicography.

It is also the aim of the ISLP to be collaborative and interdisciplinary in its research.
Accordingly, this series seeks to be collaborative and interdisciplinary in its scope. There are
three primary reasons. The first is that many linguistic disciplines meet in the making of a

modern lexicon. The second is that developments in the study of one language, theoretical and applied, are often pertinent to another. The third is the emergence of electronic lexica, which requires attention to advances in computational linguistics. Thus our planning for a Classical Syriac-English lexicon for a new generation is not pursued in isolation, but embraces a multi-disciplinary understanding of what is taking place in the study of other ancient languages and in the wider worlds of lexicography, linguistics and digital technologies.

Terry Falla

EMERGING PATHWAYS

With a hint of lament, our volume editor, Peter Williams, registers hindrances to this book's preparation. Yet the delay allows an unusual and helpful two-dimensional perspective. One is gained by looking back to the first volume of *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography* series (FSL I, 2005), and before that to the origins and aims of the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) recounted in it (2001). The other is allowed by looking forwards along paths since followed, and towards meetings planned for 2009 and 2010. Volume three (FSL III, 2008, 333 pages) is available, volume four (FSL IV) in preparation, and this volume (FSL II) a slimmer yet solid bridge from one converging set of tracks to the emerging of new ones.

My back gate opens onto parklands: wetlands, wattle-woods, bush, and grasslands that for many miles follow a river valley. Pathways and quiet tracks criss-cross, and beckon early mornings with "My turn?" The ISLP's destination is clear: to achieve the laying of foundations for future Syriac lexicography. The journey requires interdisciplinary peer-reviewed researches into issues pertinent to Syriac lexicography and the lexicography of other ancient languages, giving special attention to the optimal content of a classical Syriac lexicon. However, neither destination nor journey determine the specific contents of the volumes in this FSL series.

From the gate we first opened, tracks beckoned and intersected. A thematic approach to each volume was canvassed. But many ideas begged immediate attention. We therefore deemed it wise to encourage initial enthusiasm and leave open trails inviting exploration. For the first two volumes this was primarily a matter of gathering, peer-reviewing, and editing. But the editors of FSL III, Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen, discovered that its articles, now including contributions from SBL's Biblical Lexicography unit, formed distinct pathways through contemporary complexities of ancient-language lexicography. Comparable foci are apparent in the twenty or so articles—from Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew scholars—that will constitute FSL IV edited by Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen.

At the ISLP's 2008 meeting, we agreed that post FSL IV could be the time to make the transition to a thematic approach to the series. Another bridge to new pathways.

As series editor, I stand in awe of the commitment and sheer hard work of Peter Williams, all the other editors of these volumes, and of our Managing Editor, Beryl Turner, knowing that what they have achieved has had to jostle with other demanding projects and overburdened schedules. I, and many others, are most grateful to you. Thank you.

Terry Falla

VOLUME PREFACE

I must begin by craving the indulgence of the various contributors to this volume for my tardiness in editing it. True, I was not the only cause of delay, but I was the principal cause. University administration, optimistic time planning, and a change of institution are all I have to blame. With my apologia completed, I would like to express my thanks to the peer reviewers and members of the group who helped prepare manuscripts and to Terry Falla who helped conceive the International Syriac Language Project and has encouraged this volume from afar. Beryl Turner, the Managing Editor has shouldered a considerable task in bringing this volume to publication, and I am grateful to her for this and for her prompt replies to my less-than-prompt enquiries.

Now to the specifics of this volume: all but the last paper were presented in some form at the Syriac Lexicography sessions during the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Groningen, on Tuesday 27 July 2004. They represent a diversity of approaches to lexicography—the essays of Forbes and Dyk break new ground in discussions of taxonomy and are of relevance to lexicographers of any language; the essays of Williams and of Falla and Van Peursen discuss specific translation phenomena in the Syriac New Testament; that of Juckel provides scholars for the first time with the text of the Harklean margin to the *Corpus Paulinum* along with a detailed analysis thereof; those of Kiraz and Aydin provide vital important information on Syriac lexica that deserve to be more widely known in the West. The essays demonstrate a range of lexicographical disciplines and their diversity is highlighted further by the fact that five of the essays focus on a common subject, namely the biblical text.

Obviously, if approaches are varied, it is harder for an editor to bring full stylistic unity. One manifestation of this is that, while we have generally used a Serto font for Syriac, in Aydin's essay an East Syriac font has been used to preserve important aspects of vocalization. The fonts are of course Meltho ones for which we are grateful to George Kiraz, whom we also thank for the publication of this volume.

P.J. Williams, 18 September 2008
Tyndale House, Cambridge

CHAPTER 1
DISTRIBUTIONALLY-INFERRED WORD AND FORM CLASSES IN THE HEBREW LEXICON: KNOWN BY THE COMPANY THEY KEEP

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University of California, Berkeley

Using the rigorous computational methods of unsupervised pattern recognition (all explained in the paper), the distributions of the words and the word segments of biblical Hebrew are analyzed. This allows the inference of part-of-speech classes. The classes are in most cases gratifyingly homogeneous, but some contain perplexing constituents.

1. WORD CLASSES AND FORM CLASSES IN LINGUISTICS

1.1 The Centrality of Word Classes

Central to any proper linguistic analysis is the concept of the *grammatical class* or *category*. Trask introduces the notion as follows:[1]

> In every language, the lexical items fall naturally into a small set of categories, such that the words in any category exhibit similar behaviour, while words in different categories exhibit different behaviour.
>   The existence of such categories has been recognized in Europe for over 2000 years. Various names have been conferred upon these categories: the most venerable is *parts of speech*, while recent linguists have called them *word classes* or *lexical categories*.[2]

Most linguists would agree that the phenomena exhibited by languages are category-based,[3] making grammatical categories central to linguistics. Very rarely does a linguist argue for "the nonexistence of primitive syntactic categories."[4]

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[1] R.L. Trask, "Parts of Speech," *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories*, 278.
[2] Throughout this essay, we shall use *part of speech*, *word class*, and *lexical category* (or even simply *class* or *category*) interchangeably.
[3] A. Radford, *Syntax: A Minimalist Introduction*, 29.
[4] W. Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theories in Typological Perspective*, 5.

1.2 Which Word Classes Are Appropriate?

Word Classes in Linguistics—In classic grammars, some set of part-of-speech labels is typically simply assumed.[5] Chomsky's quartet of classes, defined in terms of a pair of binary features, is often displayed: *noun* (+N, –V), *verb* (–N, +V), *adjective* (+N, +V), and *adposition* (–N, –V).[6] This is all too facile and unrevealing.

It is increasingly common to enlarge the list of categories and to make a distinction between *lexical categories* and *functional categories*. The former are the content word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions), while the latter exercise purely grammatical functions (particles, auxiliaries, determiners, pronouns, and complementizers).[7] A parallel distinction is that between *open classes* and *closed classes*. The former classes consist of (often inflected) content words and are large and elastic; the latter consist of function words and are small and of fixed makeup. Hausser places verbs, nouns, and adjectives in the open classes; he puts conjunctions, prepositions, and determiners in the closed classes.[8]

Some modern grammars exploit the considerable expressive power resident in complex categories.[9] "Treating categories as bundles of features makes it possible to represent large numbers of grammatical categories quite compactly, since every different combination of features and values is a different category."[10] A recent treatment of head-driven phrase structure grammar (HPSG), for example, has eight hierarchically-organised parts of speech (POS) for English.[11] The POS hierarchy is shown in Figure 1. Four POS involve agreement, the so-called *agr-pos:* det, noun, comp, and verb. The other four do not involve agreement (adj, prep, adv, and conj). The category-valued *pos-feature* is one feature among many in the grammar. It corresponds to what is variously called the *word class*, *lexical category*, or *part of speech* in this paper.

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[5] R.L. Trask, *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1993), 155.

[6] M.C. Baker, *Lexical Categories: Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives*, 1–2. (Adposition is preposition and postposition.)

[7] Radford, *Minimalist*, 38. Baker (*Lexical*, 303–325) puts adpositions among the *functional categories*. Hence his book's title omits prepositions.

[8] R. Hausser, *Foundations of Computational Linguistics*, 244–45.

[9] G. Gazdar et al*.,* "Category Structures," *Computational Linguistics* 14 (1988): 1–19.

[10] T. Wasow, "Generative Grammar," in M. Aronoff and J. Rees-Miller (eds.), *The Handbook of Linguistics*, 304.

[11] I.A. Sag, T. Wasow, and E.M. Bender, *Syntactic Theory: A Formal Introduction*, 492.
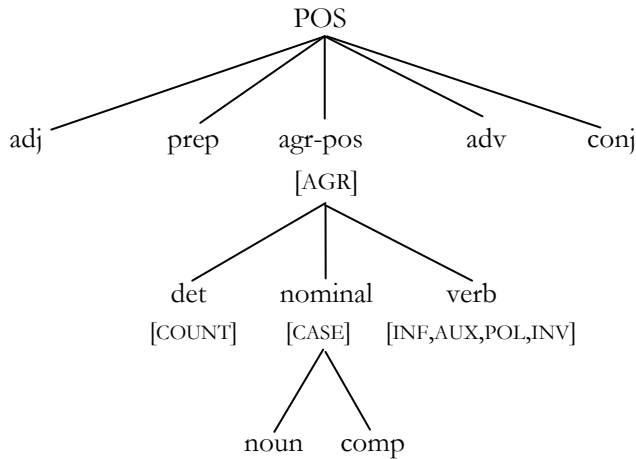
Figure 1. POS Subtree for HPSG Grammar

Word Classes for Biblical Hebrew—Treatments of word classes in grammars of biblical Hebrew tend to be *pro forma*. Waltke and O'Connor[12] deal informally with parts of speech, supplying the list of Richter's six basic word classes for Hebrew:

verb	nomen (substantive; adjective; numeral)	pronoun
verbal noun (infinitive; participle)	proper name	particle (adverb; preposition; conjunction; modal word, e.g. negative; article; interjection)

They then comment: "It is not our purpose to defend a particular list, however, but rather to point to the usefulness of a word-class approach, despite its mixed origins."

Van der Merwe et al.[13] provide quite traditional definitions for these ten "word categories/classes": *verbs, nouns, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, predicators of existence, interrogatives, discourse markers,* and *interjections.* Example definition: "Verbs express the action, condition or existence of a person or thing."

Since it is easy to combine categories automatically but difficult to split them, Andersen and Forbes[14] have labelled the text of the Hebrew Bible with seventy-five different grammatical category labels. For example, thirteen different classes of prepositions, eight different classes of conjunctions, nine different classes of interrogatives, eleven different classes of pure verbals, and four different classes of verbal nouns are distinguished.

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[12] B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 64–68.

[13] C.H.J. van der Merwe et al., *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 53–59.

[14] F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, "Hebrew Grammar Visualised: I. Syntax," 43–61. Reprinted in *The Biblical Historian* 1 (2004): 25–37 (large format version).

So, Which Word Classes Are Appropriate for Biblical Syntax?—Croft[15] points out that taxonomists must find a balance between the extremes of thoroughgoing "lumping" and rampant "splitting" of categories. In our survey above, we saw class lumping in Richter's combining of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and modal words into a super-class of *particles*. Splitting was seen in the Andersen and Forbes subdivision of major categories. For example, they distinguish nine categories of interrogatives.

Croft warns that lumping risks "ignoring distributional patterns." He asserts that the problem for splitters is that "[t]here is no way to stop splitting." I have elsewhere[16] shown that the structure of the hierarchical lexicon[17] allows one to work out when to stop splitting. Croft's arguments do show that seeking "the one best set of parts of speech" is misguided, since there can be no such thing. In this essay, I examine ways of inferring the overall structure of a hierarchical lexicon for biblical Hebrew, thereby escaping the lumping-splitting dilemma.

1.3 How Should Word Classes Be Assigned?

In his review article on parts of speech, Trask[18] discusses "four different types of criteria [that have been] proposed for identifying parts of speech:" *meaning, derivation, inflection,* and *distribution.*

Meaning—Criteria for identifying part of speech, such as those for the verb quoted above from van der Merwe et al., rely on meaning to decide the part of speech. Waltke and O'Connor also take this approach to classification on occasion: "**noun**… the class of naming words, including substantives (names of things or beings) and adjectives, as well as participles in some uses."[19] Semantic criteria such as these have been thoroughly discredited. To quote Trask:[20]

> Though popular in the past, this criterion is rejected today, since it is hopelessly misleading: lexical categories are syntactic categories, not semantic ones, and the meaning of a word is at best no more than a rough guide to its likely word class.

Derivation—Some word-class assignments may be made on the basis of a word's "ability to take word-forming affixes to yield other words."[21] As it happens, biblical Hebrew has very

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[15] W. Croft, "Parts of Speech as Language Universals and as Language-particular Categories," 72–79.

[16] A.D. Forbes, "Squishes, Clines, and Fuzzy Signs: Mixed and Gradient Categories in the Biblical Hebrew Lexicon," 105–139.

[17] Figure 1 shows the upper levels of a hierarchical lexicon. According to Malouf: "The lexicon consists of objects of type word, organized into a hierarchy of types and subtypes." R.P. Malouf, *Mixed Categories in the Hierarchical Lexicon*, 11.

[18] Trask, "Parts of Speech," in Brown and Miller, *Concise*, 280–82.

[19] Waltke–O'Connor, *Introduction*, 692.

[20] Trask, "Parts of Speech," in Brown and Miller, *Concise*, 280.

[21] Trask, "Parts of Speech," in Brown and Miller, *Concise*, 281.

few such affixes. *He locale* comes to mind. Waltke and O'Connor view it as an adverbial suffix.[22] As there are very few derivational affixes in biblical Hebrew, this approach does not get one very far.

Inflection—More productive are approaches based on inflection. Chapters II and III of Joüon and Muraoka provide a great deal of classificatory evidence resting on inflections.[23] We rely mainly on inflection when we segment our text to convert its words into sequences of forms. (See below.)

Useful analyses of computational morphology as applied to Semitic languages include those by Bosman and Sikkel,[24] who analyze morphology as a data-driven process involving a human teacher, and Kiraz, who develops a nonlinear approach to deal with infixation and other nonlinear morphological phenomena.[25]

Distribution—We shall put our main effort into investigating the power of distributional analysis for attaining taxonomic bliss. Quoting Trask once again:[26]

> A word is assigned to a part of speech on the basis of its distribution, the range of syntactic positions in which it can occur. Though not much favoured in the past, this criterion is probably the most important of all today.

A common approach to distributional analysis involves the notion of the *frame* and relies on native speaker judgment. One presents a frame of words having an empty slot and asks a native speaker what words are acceptable in that slot. Words that are admissible in a carefully designed frame are then said to belong to the same word class.

This approach, however, has real limitations. Consider this frame supplied by Crystal:[27] "*She saw ___ box.*" Crystal says that this frame supplies an environment for *determiners* (*the*, *a*, *my*, *one*, etc). True, such words fit the slot. But so do *Bill*, *boys*, *men*, *pugilists*, *kangaroos*, and many other nouns.

Given the limitations of the frame approach and the fact that there are no native speakers of biblical Hebrew, some other method of analysing word distributions is needed. Schütze[28] has investigated four variant computational approaches to word classes for English. Similar work has also been reported by Zavrel.[29] Before turning to my versions of these approaches, I will discuss three phenomena that complicate the analysis of biblical Hebrew.

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[22] Waltke–O'Connor, *Introduction*, 185–86.
[23] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 124–328.
[24] H.J. Bosman and C.J. Sikkel, "Reading Authors and Reading Documents," 113–33.
[25] G.A. Kiraz, *Computational Nonlinear Morphology with Emphasis on Semitic Languages*.
[26] Trask, "Parts of Speech," 281.
[27] D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 188.
[28] H. Schütze, *Ambiguity Resolution in Language Learning: Computational and Cognitive Models*.
[29] J. Zavrel, "Lexical Space: Learning and Using Continuous Linguistic Representations."

1.4 Three Complications for Biblical Hebrew

Three phenomena that complicate word-class inference for biblical Hebrew are orthographic variation, agglutination, and missing punctuation.

Orthographic Variation—Spelling in the Hebrew Bible shows statistically significant patterned variability.[30] The word *David*, for example, occurs with and without *dagesh lene*, and with *plene* or *defective* final vowel. In the *ketib* text of the Hebrew Bible,[31] it is spelled in these four ways:

דָּוִד	466
דָּוִיד	215
דָוִד	129
דָוִיד	36

The presence or absence of the *dagesh lene* is determined by the pre-context of the word. The use of *defective* or *plene* spelling is not random and is related to text portion.[32]

For the purpose of inferring word classes, do we have one word here or are there four different words? We must make a trade-off. On the one hand, considering the four spellings as variants of one single word would bump up the counts for the word, making statistical analyses more robust. On the other hand, since it has been shown that the use of *plene* or *defective* is correlated with text portion, washing out spelling differences might obscure informative diachronic variation. But, if there are too few instances of the various spellings, then our ability to make reliable inferences as regards diachrony, in any case, will be nil.

In light of the foregoing, the plan for this essay is first to analyze the biblical data without merging any spelling variants. In subsequent analysis, we will investigate grammatical classes when certain variant spellings are folded together.

Agglutination—Biblical Hebrew exhibits *agglutination*. That is, its "words can be readily divided into a linear sequence of distinct morphemes, each of which typically has a fairly consistent shape and a single consistent meaning or function."[33] Consider, for example, וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ. This word is typically divided into four morphemes: וְ־לַ־חֹשֶׁךְ, where we have inserted `-markers to delimit the morphemes. The word might be glossed *and-to-the-darkness*. By standard biblical Hebrew taxonomy, this word contains four distinct form classes: *conj-prep-def-noun*.

Here we encounter a potential circularity trap. One prefers to deal with "atomic units" in one's analyses. That is, one prefers that analyses deal with fundamental units ("forms"

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[30] F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*. See also, D.N. Freedman, A.D. Forbes, and F.I. Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*.

[31] The counts in this essay are for the *ketib* text of the *Leningrad Codex*, Aramaic verses having been omitted.

[32] Andersen–Forbes, *Spelling*, 5.

[33] Trask, *Dictionary*, 12.

rather than "phrases"). This is in keeping with well-justified linguistic practice in building up clause structures. And, further, dealing with properly segmented texts also provides larger sets of forms, enabling more robust statistical inferences.

The table below shows all of the words in the Hebrew Bible that contain *David*, fourteen types in all, along with their incidence counts ("token counts"). *David* appears as four simple word types, as two spellings in coordination phrases, and as part of eight prepositional phrases, one being coordinated. How is one to identify the forms making up phrases (written as single orthographic words) without relying on knowledge of some set of form classes and hence knowledge of a "hidden" taxonomy?

בְּ־דָוִד	12
בְּ־דָוִיד	2
בְ־דָוִד	2
דָוִד	466
דָוִיד	215
דָוִד	129
דָוִיד	36
כְּ־דָוִד	6
כְּ־דָוִיד	3
לְ־דָוִד	134
לְ־דָוִיד	24
וּ־לְ־דָוִד	1
וְ־דָוִד	38
וְ־דָוִיד	6

There appears to be no way of segmenting the text that does not finally rely upon at least some underlying taxonomic theory. Three further facts lessen the limitations that this imposes.

First, much text segmentation activity involves affixes that are members of uncontroversial closed classes of limited membership. One can explicitly state just which affixes are involved and what their significances are. For example, one may mechanically analyze off the eight word-initial alloforms of the coordinating conjunction וּ, *and*. If one considers all word-initial instances of וּ-plus-vowel to be coordinating conjunctions, then one will correctly isolate 50,270 conjunctions while incorrectly splitting off the first syllable of twenty-four nouns, sixteen proper and eight common, an error rate of 0.05%. If one is willing to exploit morphology and/or context, then one can avoid even these few errors.

Second, much segmentation can be based upon observations regarding inflection rather than upon word/form distributions. Consider, for example, the problem of analysing off the definite articles with הַ. If we segment off the coordinating conjunctions, then there are about 28,500 items with word-initial הַ, הָ, or הֶ. About eighty-four percent of these are definite articles, more than ninety-nine percent of which precede substantives. Of the sixteen percent which are not definite articles, three-quarters are the initial parts of verbs. All this

suggests that analyses of inflections should enable segmentation in those cases where inflections are available.

Third, the goal here is not to devise a taxonomy of biblical Hebrew *ab initio*. Rather, the goal is to assess, adjust, and refine traditional taxonomies.[34] I have already reported in some detail one foray into this area, my work on computing a squish for biblical Hebrew based upon one expert's taxonomic labelling of the text.[35] The derived squish was used to produce a "squish space" wherein the nature of Hebrew form classes could be studied as regards their mixed-ness and their gradience behaviour.

Missing Punctuation—We will see that some analyses rely on knowing the boundaries of the main clauses in the text. It is easy to show that relying on punctuation in the form of verse terminators and *atnaḥ*s to mark clause boundaries is inadequate. For example, consider the main clauses in Genesis. On our analysis, Genesis contains 4,353 main clauses. It has 1,537 verses. Clause onset follows verse offset 1,474 times (96%). We find 878 *atnaḥ* in Genesis. Clause onset follows *atnaḥ* 682 times (78%), not very reliable. To make matters worse, main clause onset is associated with neither verse onset nor *atnaḥ* slightly over half of the time. These error rates are too high to allow us to use these so-called "built-in" clause boundary markers. We shall therefore use the boundaries that we have determined via other routes.[36]

2. COMPUTATIONAL APPROACHES TO TAXONOMY

2.1 The Role of Pattern Recognition

The Text—As our text, we take the *ketib* text of B19a, omitting all Aramaic verses.[37] A word is any sequence of consonants and vowels that is separated from its neighbours by spacers (space, *maqqeph*, and verse ending). The text of the Hebrew Bible, thus defined, consists of 300,669 words ("tokens") and 51,286 "types."

How Pattern Recognition Enters the Picture—We want to see if the words of the text divide into natural sets ("word classes"). As observed above, we might try to group words on the basis of word-internal characteristics. Groupings might be sought on the basis of category-valued features, such as word-endings (ים- and ות-); they might be sought on the basis of numerical-valued features, such as the number of consonants in the word. These sorts of features relate to morphology, to derivation, to inflection.

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[34] A further goal is to create a hierarchical lexicon for biblical Hebrew.

[35] Forbes, "Squishes."

[36] F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, "Marking Clause Boundaries," 181–202.

[37] The *ketib* readings are from R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere.* Also, we restore Joshua 21:36–37, absent from B19a.

Alternatively, we might try to group words on the basis of the contexts in which they appear. In traditional biblical studies, grouping has been carried out through a tedious, and typically incomplete, gathering of examples of this characteristic and that.

There is a highly developed branch of computer science, *pattern recognition*, one of whose principal foci is the allocation of objects, described by features, into natural classes. Pattern recognition underlies much automated medical diagnosis, speech recognition, handwriting recognition, and so on.[38]

I have elsewhere described three ways in which pattern recognition can be used in biblical text studies:[39] for classification, for clustering, and for seriation (ordering in time). To date, pattern recognition methods have mainly been (mis)used in authorship attribution studies.[40] But they have also been used in studies of part-of-speech incidence and ordering[41] and in the grouping of text portions on the basis of their orthography.[42]

2.2 Unsupervised Learning

Where classification is concerned, a major divide exists between methods that involve "learning with a teacher" (also called *supervised learning*) and those that involve "learning without a teacher" (also called *unsupervised learning*). In the former, one knows the number and nature of classes that the problem involves, and one has a teaching dataset in which each object of interest is labelled with its true class. In the latter, one knows neither the number nor nature of the classes, and therefore no labelled data are available. A great deal of work on supervised part-of-speech labelling has been done.[43] The investigations reported in this essay are based upon unsupervised learning.

2.3 Two Basic Approaches to Unsupervised Learning

I will rely on two approaches to unsupervised learning: geometrical and hierarchical.

In the geometrical approach, plots of the data are made in an attempt to make similar objects (in our case, words) close to each other. Human analysts must examine the plots and decide if words cohere together sufficiently to be declared members of word classes. Class membership is only implicit in the plots.

In the hierarchical approaches, the relatedness of words is made explicit by means of tree diagrams quite akin to family trees. In these approaches, *possible* allocations to word classes are explicit.

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[38] There is a vast literature on pattern recognition. An excellent introduction is R.O. Duda et al., *Pattern Classification*, 2nd ed.

[39] A.D. Forbes, "Shards, Strophes, and Stats," 310–21.

[40] A.D. Forbes, "Statistical Research on the Bible," 185–206.

[41] A.D. Forbes, "Syntactic Sequences in the Hebrew Bible," 59–70.

[42] Chapters 8 and 10 of Freedman et al., *Studies*.

[43] See Chapter 10, "Part of Speech Tagging," in C.D. Manning and H. Schütze, *Foundations of Statistical Natural Language Processing*, 341–80.

Both sorts of method take any dataset and produce implicit or explicit classes. This is the case even if the data are devoid of meaningful structure.[44] Therefore, an absolutely critical phase of the analysis process is the validation of results. Validation is carried out either by computing quantitative measures of adequacy or by varying the parameters of the analysis to see that the outcomes are robust with respect to variations.

Preferred Geometrical Approach—In this and the following subsection, we will see how a set of measurements made on thirty irises (sepal length and width, and petal length and width), ten from each of three different varieties (*Setosa*, "S"; *Versicolor*, "C"; and *Virginica*, "V"), can be used to infer "iris classes." We know which variety of iris each set of measurements corresponds to. This allows us to judge how good a job our unsupervised learning algorithms do in grouping the data. A few of the measurements (in cm) are:

Sepal Length	Sepal Width	Petal Length	Petal Width
5.0	3.5	1.3	0.3
4.5	2.3	1.3	0.3
4.4	3.2	1.3	0.2
5.5	2.6	4.4	1.2

Each of the irises is characterized by four numbers, so each iris can be represented as a point in a four-dimensional space. Visualizing how objects (in this case, flowers) are grouped together in a space of more than three dimensions is an ability granted to few mortals. We need a way of "projecting" the data onto a lower dimensional space so we can see how the objects are distributed. This is where the geometrical approaches to visualizing data come into play.

The two most-used geometrical approaches are classical multidimensional scaling ("CMDS") and non-metric multidimensional scaling (or ordinal scaling). In projecting data-points from a higher to a lower dimensional space, CMDS keeps the distances between the objects in the low-dimension space as close to that in the high-dimension space as possible. Ordinal scaling keeps the ordering of the distances as little changed as possible. Comparisons of these competing methods have been made, and ordinal scaling proves to be superior.[45] In this essay, therefore, we will rely on ordinal scaling.

It would be beyond the scope of this essay to discuss how ordinal scaling works.[46] Suffice it to say that when we supply the four-dimensional iris data to the ordinal scaling algorithm,[47] the data project onto two dimensions as shown in Figure 2.

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[44] For an instance of this phenomenon, see Andersen–Forbes, *Spelling*, 23–25, 306–308.

[45] C. Chatfield and A.J. Collins, *Introduction to Multivariate Analysis*, 209–210.

[46] For discussion and details, see M.L. Davison, *Multidimensional Scaling*.

[47] The data analysis relies on the S-PLUS statistics package. Ordinal scaling is done by an add-on function which is part of library MASS, available from the web. For a masterful introduction to S-PLUS, see W.N. Venables and B.D. Ripley, *Modern Applied Statistics with S-PLUS*, 4th ed.

Were we ignorant of the actual varietal labels on the data, we likely would conclude that the dataset consisted of two clusters, a compact one (the Setosa variety, S) and a diffuse one (the other two varieties, C and V), since the data for the C and V varieties are closely adjacent in the figure.

Knowing the identity of the various data points, however, allows us to add two appropriately positioned straight lines ("linear discriminants") to the figure. (Note: adding the discriminant lines to the plot is supervised learning.) We see that the V variety of irises lies above the upper line, the S variety lies below the lower line, and the C variety lies between the two discriminating lines. Having been given only the four measurements for each of the thirty flowers, the ordinal scaling algorithm has grouped the flowers into their natural classes. Measurements for some new iris would position it into one of the three zones, thereby determining its (we hope) proper class.
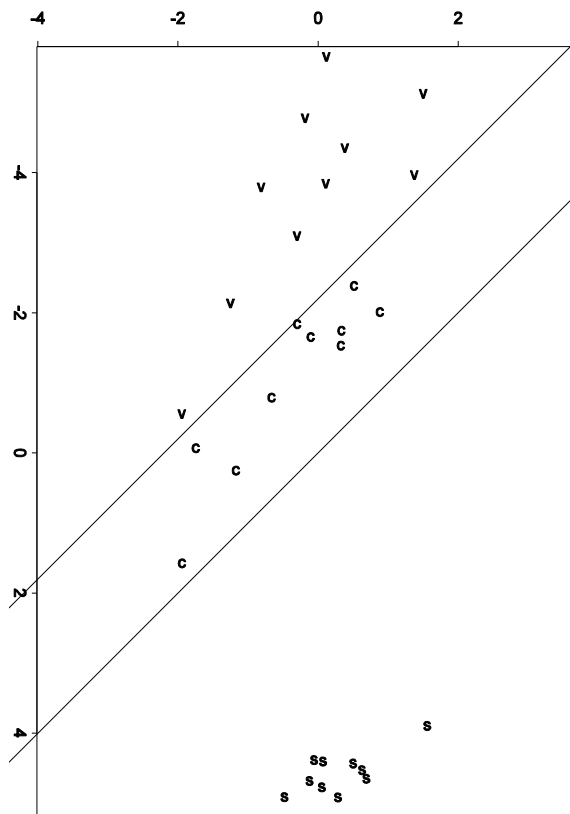

Figure 2. Results of Ordinal Scaling of Iris Data

A quantity called *Kruskal's stress* tells how distorting the scaling process is in projecting the data from a higher to a lower dimension. The table below shows the goodness-of-fit

achieved by ordinal scaling as a function of the level of *stress.*[48] For the ordinal scaling result in Figure 2, Kruskal's stress is 2.1 %, an excellent result.

Stress (%)	Goodness-of-Fit
20	Poor
10	Fair
5	Good
2.5	Excellent
0	Perfect

As a further check on the adequacy of this analysis, we have varied the distance measure used and have also carried out the analysis via CMDS, yielding essentially unchanged results.

Preferred Hierarchical Approach—Unsupervised hierarchical grouping methods are known as clustering methods. There are two types: divisive (or "top-down") and agglomerative (or "bottom-up"). At the start of divisive clustering, one's data *in toto* are considered to make up a single class. The clustering procedure peels off objects from the class until each object is a singleton class. In agglomerative clustering, the procedure is reversed. One begins with as many classes as there are objects. One then combines nearest neighbours one at a time to form composite classes, until all of the objects have merged into a single cluster. In this essay, all of the clustering is agglomerative.

The agglomerative clustering process is summarised via a *tree* or *dendrogram.* The tree has a single root node from which emerge branches ("edges") which successively ramify until the leaves of the tree are reached. Each data point occupies its own leaf. Along one side of the tree is a scale. When two items merge (be they leaf items or sub-class items), the edge which joins them is positioned opposite the scale reading which corresponds to their distance apart. Figure 3 shows the dendrogram for the iris data.

In the figure, the root is the "stub" at the far right; the leaves run down the left side of the figure. The two objects closest together are the third and fourth C from the bottom of the figure; their distance apart, as read from the scale, is 0.21 units. The S at the very top of the figure is 1.24 units from the cluster of nine other S objects that it merges with. The tree hierarchy defines anywhere from thirty clusters (the thirty leaves) to one cluster (the root). If we cut the tree with the vertical line labelled **B**, then we get two clusters: all of the Ss are one, and all of the Cs and Vs are the other. If we cut the tree with the vertical line labelled **A**, then we obtain three clusters: all of the Ss, all of the Cs, and all of the Vs. The number of clusters defined by the cluster diagram (tree) depends on where we place the cut-line.

[48] B. Everitt and S. Rabe-Hesketh, *The Analysis of Proximity Data*, 39.
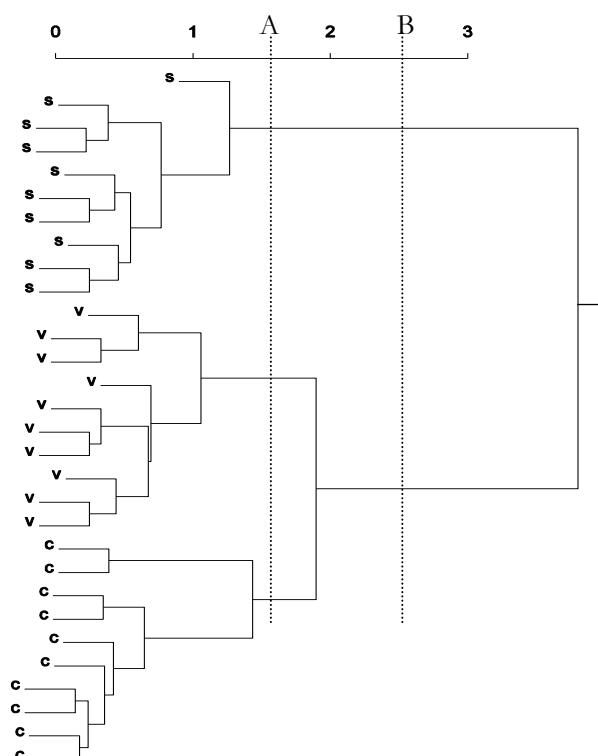
Figure 3. Dendrogram for Iris Data

The standard index of adequacy of clustering is called the *cophenetic correlation coefficient*.[49] This index varies between minus one and plus one. The closer the value is to plus one, the higher the fidelity of the clustering. When the coefficient exceeds 0.8, "the distortion is not great."[50] For the clustering shown in Figure 3, the cophenetic correlation coefficient is 0.88, good. The limited adequacy of the clustering is revealed by the fact that varying the measure of distance among the original data points preserves the clustering,[51] but changing the definition of the distance among sub-clusters does not.[52]

In the remainder of this essay, we will study the taxonomy of the words and forms making up the Hebrew Bible using the geometrical approach (ordinal scaling) and hierarchical approach (agglomerative clustering) introduced above. Readers desiring a fuller account of these methods should consult the references provided along the way.

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[49] H.C. Romesburg, *Cluster Analysis for Researchers*, 24–27.

[50] Romesburg, *Cluster*, 27.

[51] Figure 3 is based on the Euclidean metric. The results are essentially the same when the so-called Manhattan (or "city-block") metric is used.

[52] Technical detail: Changing the clustering criterion from UPGMA to single-link or complete-link degrades the clusters. On this point, see Romesburg, *Cluster*, 126.

3. INFERRING WORD CLASSES FROM WORD CONTEXTS

In this section, we examine to what extent word classes can be inferred from contextual information. As was noted above, by working with orthographic words, we are ignoring the important facts that biblical Hebrew is an agglutinating language and that the presence of word-initial *dagesh lene* is determined by the prior word.

3.1 Characterizing the Local Context

Specifying the Local Context—Table 1 shows the first seven rows of a very long list holding the text of the Hebrew Bible along with the local context of each word. The column headed *focus word* lists the 300,669 orthographic words making up the *ketib* text of the Hebrew Bible, Aramaic verses having been deleted. To the right in the column headed *n-1* is the full text pushed down by one word. This column holds the pre-context of each word in the focus word column. To the left of the focus word column, in the columns headed *n+1*, *n+2*, and *n+3*, is the text pushed up by one, two, and three words, respectively. These columns hold the post-context, post-post-context, and post-post-post-context.

n+3	*n+2*	*n+1*	*focus word*	*n-1*
אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא	בְּרֵאשִׁית	
הַשָּׁמַיִם	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא	בְּרֵאשִׁית
וְאֵת	הַשָּׁמַיִם	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא
הָאָרֶץ׃	וְאֵת	הַשָּׁמַיִם	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים
וְהָאָרֶץ	הָאָרֶץ׃	וְאֵת	הַשָּׁמַיִם	אֵת
הָיְתָה	וְהָאָרֶץ	הָאָרֶץ׃	וְאֵת	הַשָּׁמַיִם
תֹהוּ	הָיְתָה	וְהָאָרֶץ	הָאָרֶץ׃	וְאֵת

Table 1. Focus Words and Contexts for Gen 1:1

In some analyses of word classes, only the pre-context and the post-context are used.[53] In my previous work on the taxonomy of the Hebrew Bible, it was found that using the one word before (pre-context) and the three words following (post-, post-post- and post-post-post-context) as the full local context worked best.[54]

Quantitating the Local Context—For statistical analyses of the sort introduced above, we need to represent the context information quantitatively. One way to do this is to tally up for each of the focus words how many times each word occurs in the context positions (positions *n–1*, *n+1*, *n+2*, and *n+3*). For each distinct focus word (each "type") and each context position,

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[53] See Schütze, *Ambiguity*, 36–37.
[54] Forbes, "Squishes," 114.

we have a list holding the relevant counts. Example: for focus word אַבְרָהָם, the post-context position holds the word אַבְרָהָם twice, since *Abraham* follows *Abraham* precisely two times in the Hebrew Bible.

But there is a problem here. For reliable statistical analyses, sample sizes must be reasonably large. In the full listing, of which Table 1 is the initial fragment, there are 29,889 words that occur only once, the *hapax legomena*. Whenever a *hapax* is the focus word, each of its four context lists can hold only a single "1." For these nearly thirty-thousand focus words, the data are as small as they can ever be. Statistical inferences based on such samples cannot be reliable. To encourage meaningful inferences, we must consider as focus words only those that occur sufficiently often. Various researchers have concluded just how much data are sufficient in various ways. For this work, I follow Schütze's lead and work only with the 250 most frequent words.[55]

Most Frequent Words—To identify the 250 most frequent words, one proceeds as follows:[56]

- Sort the words of the text.
- Count how many times each word occurs.
- Sort the count-labelled list from most frequent to least.
- Identify the 250 most frequent words.

Tables 2a and 2b list these words, each preceded by its incidence count. The arrows embedded in the words show our standard segmentation, about which more will be said below.

The Word Data Array—To obtain the word data array, we replace each word in Table 2 by its position in the ranking. Thus, אֵת is word #1, while עָלְיִ is word #250, and so on. For each context position, we produce a 250-by-250 array of counts. The rows correspond to the 250 most frequent focus words and the columns to the 250 most frequent context words. A cell in the ith focus-word row and j^{th} context-word column holds the count of how many times that context word appears in the specified context position of the focus word. The full word data array is obtained by laying the four context arrays side-by-side, yielding a 250-by-1000 array.

The Distances among the Focus Words—The next step is to compute the distances among the 250 most frequent focus words. The pattern recognition literature gives many ways of defining the distances among objects.[57] We use the *Manhattan metric*,[58] the distance between points when one always moves parallel to a coordinate axis.

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[55] Schütze, *Ambiguity*, 34.

[56] Linux allows one to carry out the procedure via the following command line: sort <text> | uniq –c | sort –rn | head +250 > Top250.

[57] See A.D. Gordon, *Classification*, 13–32.

[58] See also J. Hughes and E. Atwell, "The Automated Evaluation of Inferred Word

6718	אֶת	588	אֲנִי	336	בְּכָל	246	אֵל	198	יוֹסֵף
6007	יהוה	578	אֵל	335	מִי	243	לְמַעַן	197	בַּיּוֹם
4808	אֲשֶׁר	577	לַיהוה	335	וְאֵל	242	שְׁלֹמֹה	196	לֵב
4344	כִּי	515	וְעַל	335	הָיָה	241	כֹּל	195	לָכֵן
3540	אֶל	509	שָׁם	334	נָא	241	בְּיַד	194	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
3482	עַל	489	כַּאֲשֶׁר	326	אֱלֹהֶיךָ	241	זָהָב	193	מִצְרַיִם
3248	לֹא	486	כֹּה	321	אוֹ	240	וַיָּבֹא	193	אָבִיו
2559	כָּל	482	אַתָּה	320	אֵלֶּה	239	יוֹם	192	מֵעַל
2259	יִשְׂרָאֵל	474	אֶחָד	313	הַהוּא	239	דִּבְרֵי	192	צִוָּה
1964	וַיֹּאמֶר	466	לָכֶם	312	הָעִיר	239	מַה	192	וְאַתָּה
1797	וְאֶת	466	דָּוִד	301	מֵאוֹת	236	וַיַּעַשׂ	190	וַיִּשְׁלַח
1583	וְלֹא	458	הַיּוֹם	301	וַיֹּאמְרוּ	229	וְאֵין	190	וַיְדַבֵּר
1283	בְּנֵי	447	הִנֵּה	300	לֵךְ	229	בָּאָרֶץ	190	לָהּ
1229	בֵּן	443	עִם	297	אֶתְכֶם	228	לְכָל	188	אוֹתָם
1130	אִישׁ	440	גַּם	294	בַּיּוֹם	226	אֵלֶיךָ	188	לִבְנֵי
1044	הַמֶּלֶךְ	440	אִתּוֹ	293	אָנֹכִי	221	עֲלֵיהֶם	188	לָנוּ
1029	עַד	439	לְךָ	290	מְאֹד	221	וְעַד	188	וַיָּבֹאוּ
1027	לוֹ	437	וְאֶת	289	מִצְרַיִם	221	אֶלֶף	187	הִיא
934	הָאָרֶץ	429	אֵלָיו	284	אַתֶּם	219	הֵמָּה	185	נָתַן
905	מֶלֶךְ	421	שָׁנָה	284	בְּנֵי	217	הַדָּבָר	184	עַמִּי
865	הוּא	420	אֲדֹנָי	282	צְבָאוֹת	216	זֹאת	184	בָּבֶל
862	בֵּית	416	יִהְיֶה	281	זֶה	215	דָּוִיד	183	מִפְּנֵי
856	לֵאמֹר	403	עָלָיו	279	וְאִם	214	עוֹלָם	182	הַכֹּהֲנִים
789	אִם	400	וְהָיָה	276	אַחֲרֵי	213	אַתֶּם	180	הַגּוֹיִם
782	וַיְהִי	398	אֱלֹהֵי	274	הָאֵלֶּה	211	וּבְנֵי	180	בַּת
743	הָעָם	396	כֵּן	274	טוֹב	211	וְהוּא	180	פַּרְעֹה
726	מֹשֶׁה	394	עוֹד	273	בֵּן	209	וַיֵּלֶךְ	179	לֶחֶם
699	הַזֶּה	379	אֶרֶץ	271	וְעַתָּה	207	סָבִיב	178	וַאֲנִי
697	אָמַר	372	נְאֻם	269	יָמִים	206	רוּחַ	174	רַבִּים
683	יְהוּדָה	370	אֵלַי	269	הַזֹּאת	205	יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ם	174	הֵם
679	אֱלֹהִים	365	הָאֱלֹהִים	269	כָּל	204	עֶשְׂרִים	174	אֱלֹהֵינוּ
638	לָהֶם	359	אֵין	269	יַעֲקֹב	204	לַעֲשׂוֹת	173	בְּתוֹךְ
622	וְכָל	359	וְהִנֵּה	266	פְּנֵי	202	וַיִּקַּח	173	הַשָּׁמַיִם
621	מִן	358	עָשָׂה	263	אַהֲרֹן	202	וַיִּקְרָא	173	עִם
605	לִי	355	הַכֹּהֵן	254	תַּחַת	201	עָשָׂר	173	נַפְשִׁי
605	אֵת	355	שָׁאוּל	249	וְגַם	200	דִּבֶּר	173	בָּא
596	לִפְנֵי	344	אָדָם	247	בּוֹ	199	וַיֹּאמֶר	171	עָלֶיהָ

Table 2a. 250 Most Frequent Words

Classifications," *11ᵗʰ European Conference on AI* (1994): 535–39.

171	מִמֶּנּוּ	163	קוֹל	156	הַמִּזְבֵּחַ	143	שְׁמוֹ	136	עָלַי
170	הַבַּיִת	162	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	155	בָּאָרֶץ	142	קֹדֶשׁ	136	עִיר
168	מַיִם	162	הִנְנִי	154	עִמּוֹ	140	דָּבָר	135	הַיָּמִים
168	אַנְשֵׁי	161	מוֹעֵד	153	אִתּוֹ	140	יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם	134	עֲשָׂרֵה
167	בֵּין	159	לְבֵית	153	אֵשׁ	139	אַבְרָהָם	134	לְדָוִד
167	דֶּרֶךְ	158	אַךְ	152	וַיִּתֵּן	139	הַיָּם	134	וַיֵּצֵא
167	אֲדֹנָי	158	מֵאֶרֶץ	152	רֹאשׁ	139	בְּעֵינֵי	134	שֶׁבַע
167	הָאִישׁ	158	בְּנוֹ	148	וְאֶל	139	אַחַת	133	הַדְּבָרִים
166	מוֹאָב	157	לְעוֹלָם	147	גָּדוֹל	139	עַתָּה	132	שָׂרֵי
166	הָיוּ	157	שֵׁם	147	אִשָּׁה	139	עֲשׂוּ	132	וְאָמַרְתָּ
165	אֲלֵיהֶם	157	יָדוֹ	147	הֲלוֹא	139	וְאִישׁ	132	וַיִּרָא
165	אַף	157	בָּהּ	146	הַלְוִיִּם	138	הָאָדָם	131	כֶּסֶף
163	שְׁנֵי	156	דִּבֶּר	145	מָה	137	לִי	131	עָלַי

Table 2b. 250 Most Frequent Words

3.2 Ordinal Scaling of Focus Words Using Their Contexts

Figure 4 shows the results of the ordinal scaling of the 250 most frequent focus words.[59] The box-outlined portion of the plot with heavily overlapping labels is shown magnified in Figure 5.

An examination of the words in the first and second quadrants of both plots (above the x-axes) reveals that most of those words are traditional substantives. One notes further that words for numbers are concentrated in the second quadrant. Continuing around counter-clockwise, one encounters a group of freestanding prepositions (at about the 8 o'clock position). Next come the verbs, and finally come various quasiverbals and "particles."[60] That is, as one moves counter-clockwise from the positive x-axis, one encounters various traditional parts of speech in this sequence:

substantives < prepositions < verbs < quasiverbals & particles

In my paper on squishes and clines, based on expert-assigned part-of-speech labels and exploiting the method of seriation,[61] I inferred this part-of-speech squish for biblical Hebrew:

substantives < nouny verbs < prepositions < verbs < quasiverbals < "ragbag"

The similarity of the two squishes is gratifying.

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[59] To allow magnification, four words have been clipped from the lower part of the plot. Three verbs on either side of the negative y-axis (around the 6 o'clock position) have been omitted: צִוָּה, אָמַר, and וַיְדַבֵּר; a noun at 5 o'clock has also been left out: אֲדֹנָי.

[60] This basic sequence is maintained when we analyse the data using classical multidimensional scaling or Sammon's method. (See Venables–Ripley, *Modern*, 333.)

[61] Forbes, "Squishes," 124–25.
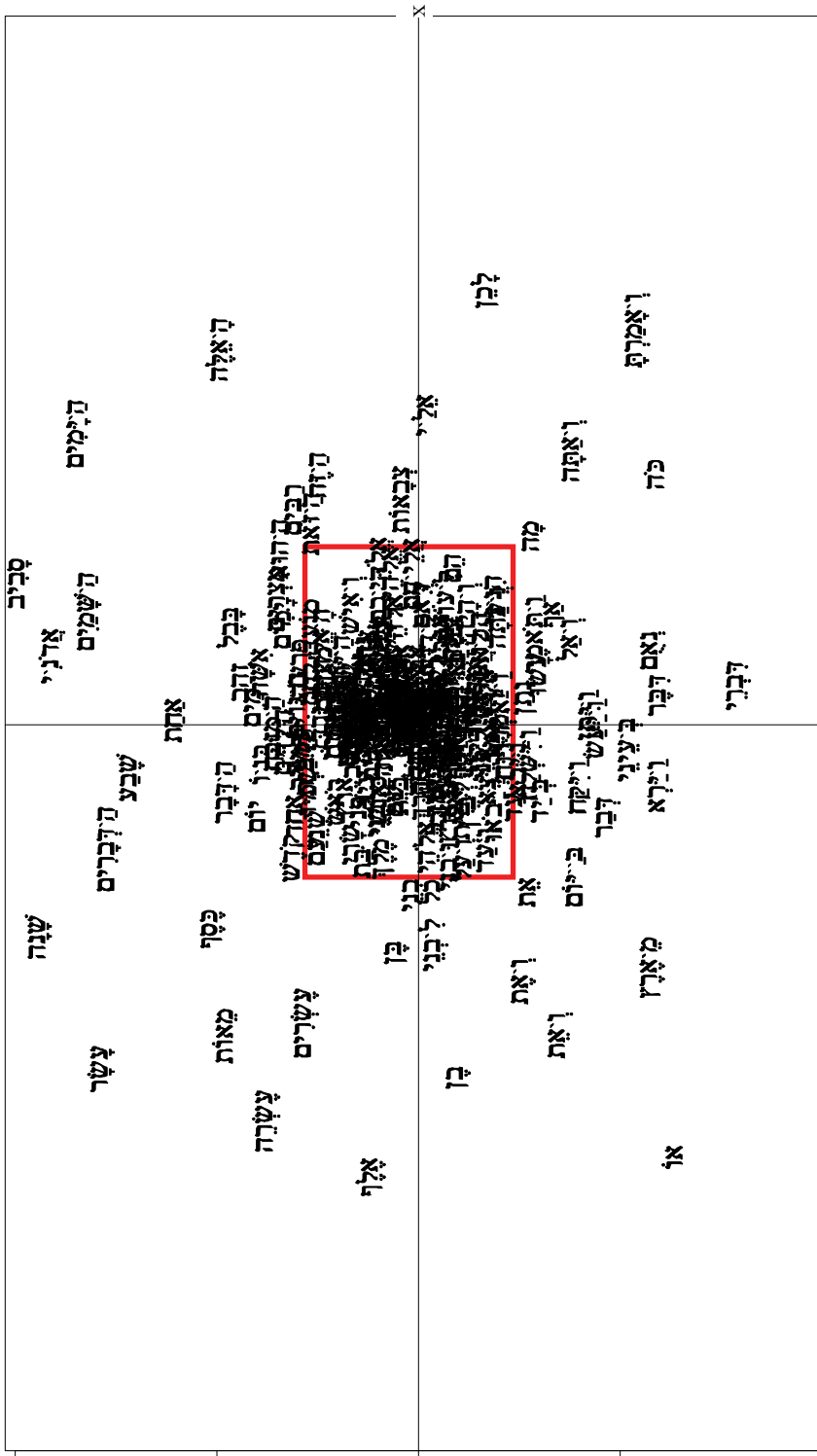
Figure 4. Ordinal Scaling Plot: Full View of Words
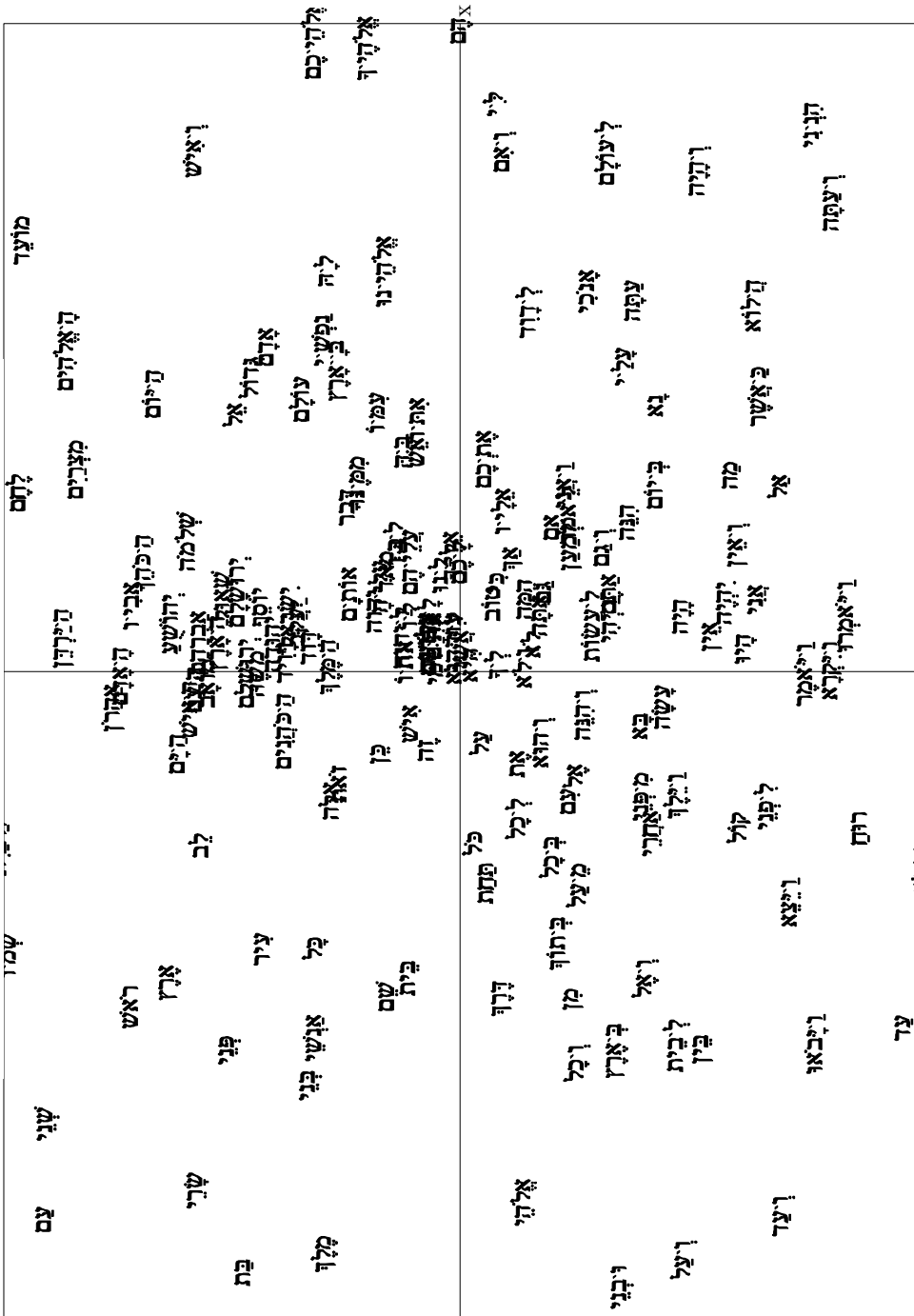
Figure 5. Ordinal Scaling Plot Central Rectangle

We assess the adequacy of the projection from one-thousand dimensions to two by computing Kruskal's stress. We find that its value is 25%. This indicates that the goodness-of-fit is *poor*.[62] This is borne out by the fact that objects that uncontroversially share a traditional word class (and that therefore should congregate together in the plot) can be scattered in our display.[63]

3.3 Clustering Focus Words Using Their Contexts

Clustering on the basis of the city-block distances among the focus words yields the massive tree "micro-printed" in Figure 6.[64]

The Enigma of Chaining—The impossibly minuscule tree is shown for a minor reason and for a major reason. The minor reason is to identify the positions of five sub-trees that we will display and discuss below. The double arrows down the left side of the figure identify these sub-trees.

The major reason is that the tree nicely illustrates an important phenomenon that needs to be discussed: *chaining*. Note how the clustering in the upper half of Figure 6 involves the successive accretion of single words or pairs of words. The cluster "grows progressively larger through the annexation of lone objects that have not yet been clustered."[65] This phenomenon, whereby a single cluster "snowballs" one or two objects at a time is termed "chaining." (Note that chaining is considerably less evident in the lower half of the figure.)

A much debated controversy in the literature on clustering is whether chaining is an artefact produced by the clustering procedure(s) used or is a valid representation of the structure of the objects being analyzed. Some procedures (for example, "single-link") have a tendency to exhibit chaining. Procedures devised to overcome the chaining behaviour often introduce their own sets of problems.[66] There are researchers who argue forcefully that chaining behaviour is desirable. "It is no coincidence that the proponents of single linkage clustering have been, for the most part, working in the field of numerical taxonomy."[67]

If the objects being clustered lie in a long chain (such as might be expected for a squish or cline structure), then chaining might be expected. In the case of a squish, one would expect the words or forms, on average, to be annexed to the chained cluster in the order that they appear along the squish/cline. But, if the objects being clustered are compactly grouped in tight spherical clusters, then one would view any chaining as spurious, possibly the result of noisy data. The usual visual model of clusters that practitioners of the art operate in terms of

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[62] The stress in going from 1,000 to twenty dimensions is 6%, *good*.

[63] Scattering might also be a sign of an inadequacy in the traditional taxonomies. But we knew from the outset that orthographic word analysis might well come to grief.

[64] The clustering uses average-linkage. See Romesburg, *Cluster*, 15–23 and 126–27.

[65] Romesburg, *Cluster*, 137.

[66] Chatfield–Collins, *Introduction*, 228.

[67] W.J. Krzanowski and F.H.C. Marriott, *Multivariate Analysis* Part 2, 72.

is the tight spherical clusters image. But we have evidence from our previous research that squish behaviour may be a genuine linguistic phenomenon.
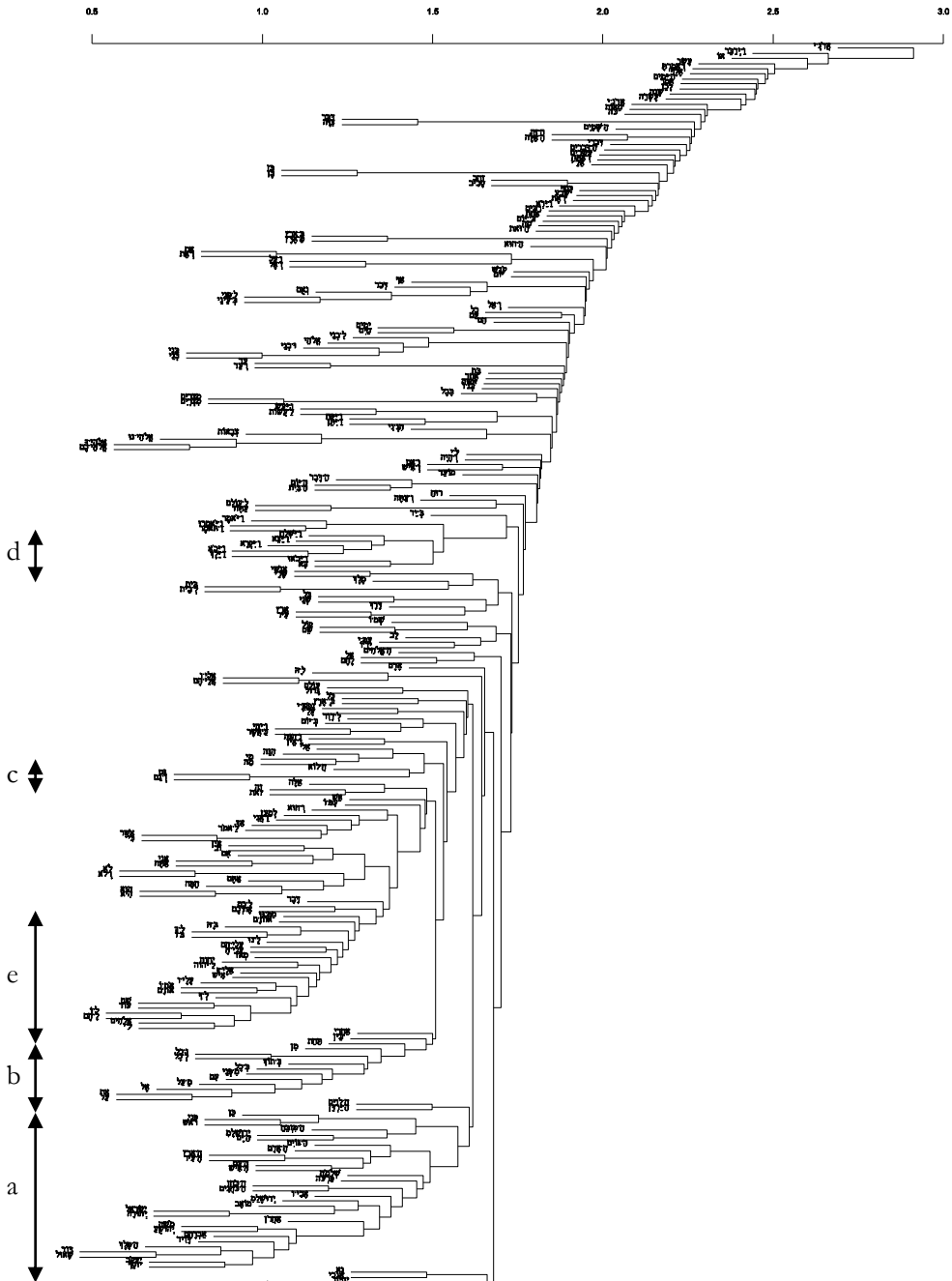

Figure 6. Dendrogram for 250 Most Frequent Words

When we expand the dendrogram in Figure 6 so that we can read the word labels on its leaves, we find that the annexation of words in the upper part of the figure consists mostly of substantives but with an occasional verb intruder. We might or might not infer that a squish is being built up. (But we already know that the orthographic word approach cannot be fully reliable.)

In Figure 6, the dendrogram cophenetic correlation coefficient is 0.89, a surprisingly high value. Since the clustering criterion chosen ("average linkage") is resistant to chaining, the coefficient value suggests that the data may indeed lie in a linear continuum ("squish").

Some of the sub-trees in the lower half of the figure are quite interesting. The five double arrows (a–e) in Figure 6 delimit the five sub-trees that are shown in Figures 7–11.
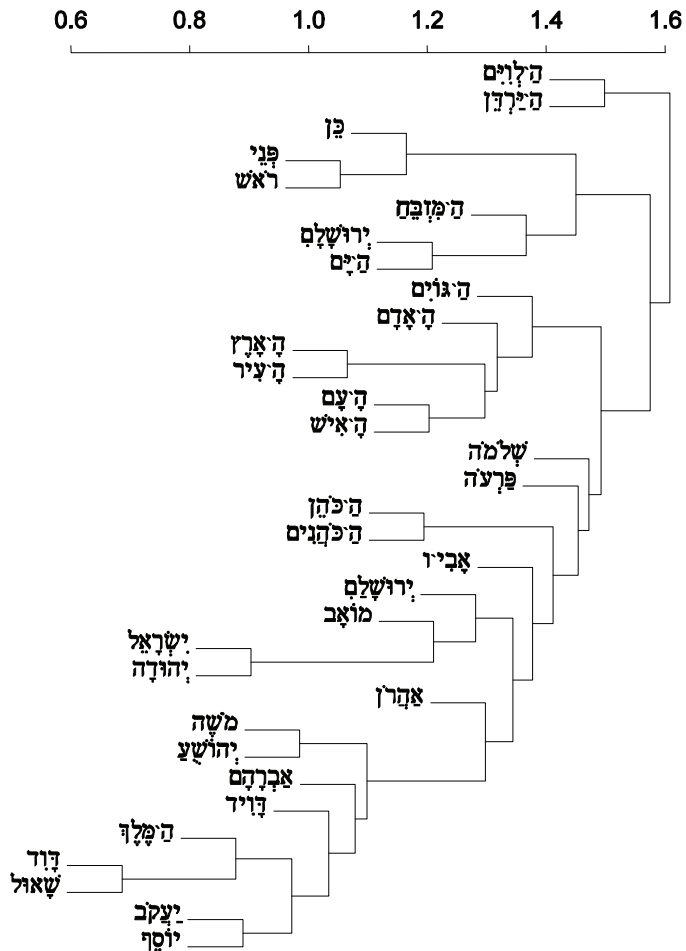
Figure 7. Substantive Sub-Tree

Some Comments on the Sub-Trees—We intermingle a few comments on Figures 7, 8, and 11.

Figure 7: (i) The third word from the top, כֵּן, is a possible interloper amidst the thirty-two substantives in this sub-tree. It is usually considered an adverbial.[68] (ii) The normal and pausal forms of *Jerusalem* are separated. (iii) Note how the *defective* and *plene* spellings of *David* enter the sub-tree.
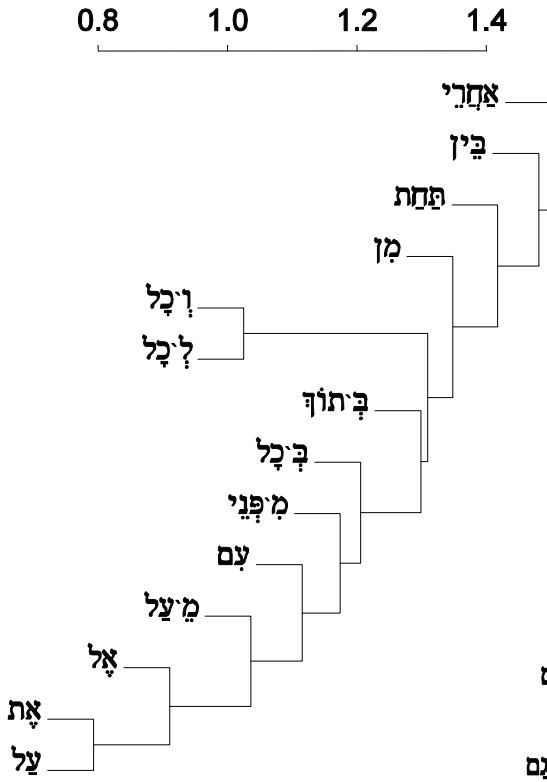
Figure 8. Preposition Sub-Tree   Figure 9. Particle Sub-Tree
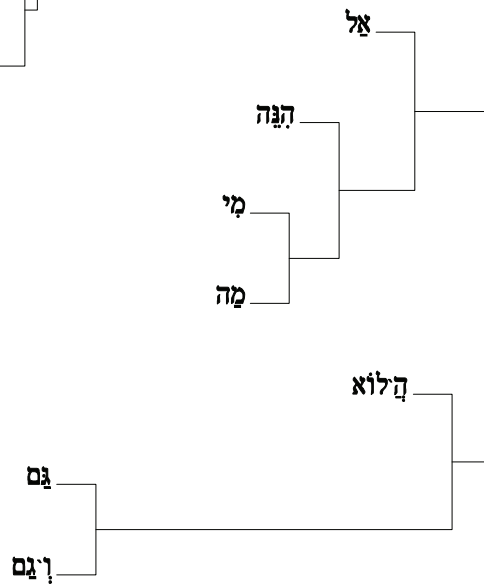
Figure 8: Note that three prefixed forms of כָל are part of the freestanding preposition sub-tree.[69]

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68 Waltke–O'Connor, *Introduction*, 396.
69 See Forbes, "Squishes," 121.

1.1   1.2   1.3   1.4   1.5

וַיֹּאמֶר
וַיֹּאמְרוּ
וַתֹּאמֶר
וַיִּשְׁלַח
וַיֵּצֵא
וַיִּקְרָא
וַיָּבֹא
וַיֵּלֶךְ
וַיָּבֹאוּ
בָּא

Figure 10. Verb Sub-Tree

דָּבָר
לָכֶם
אֶתְכֶם
מִמֶּנּוּ
אוֹתָם
בָּהּ
לְךָ
בּוֹ
לָנוּ
עֲלֵיהֶם
עָלֶיהָ
מְאֹד
יהוה
לַיהוה
אֵלֶיךָ
אִישׁ
עָלָיו
אֹתוֹ
אֹתָם
לְךָ
שָׁם
עוֹד
לִי
לָהֶם
אֱלֹהִים
לִי
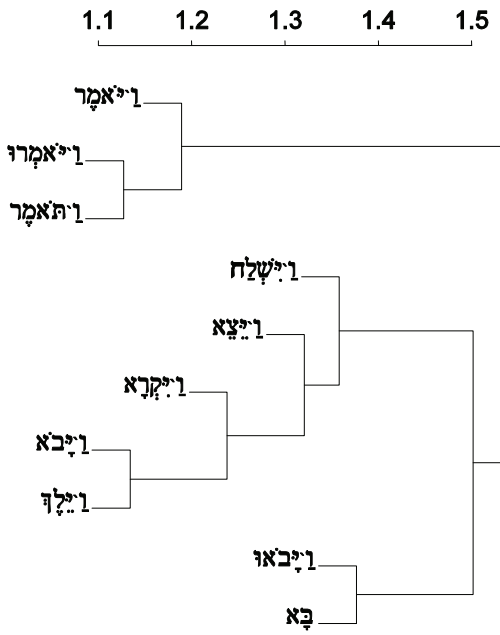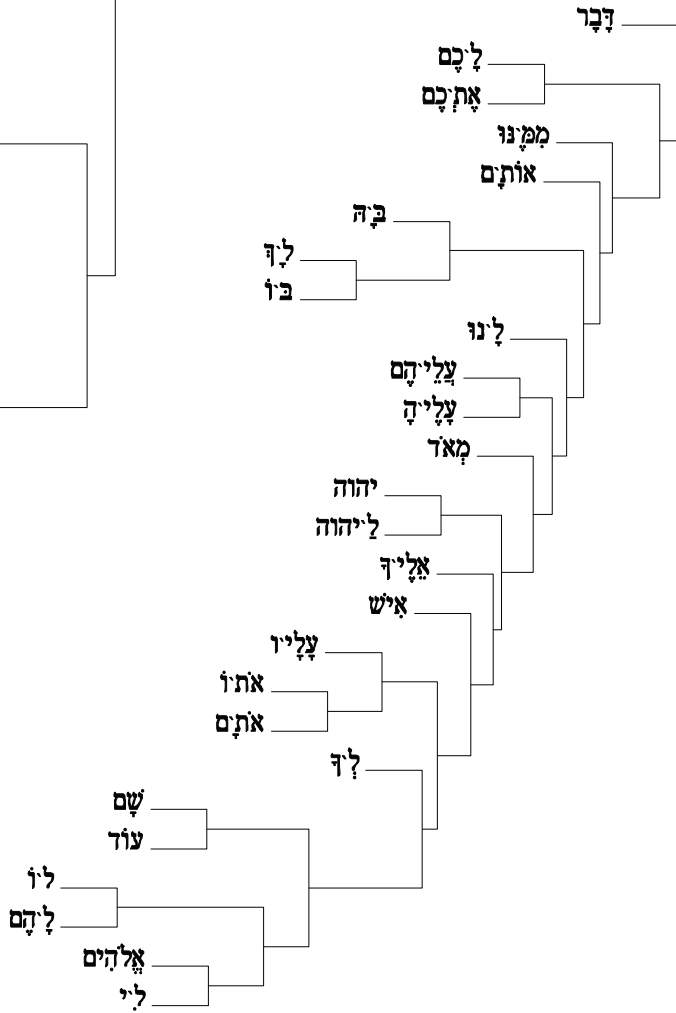
Figure 11. Mixed-Bag Sub-Tree

Figure 11: This sub-tree has been included to show a situation where the clustering has gone awry. There are eighteen preposition-plus-pronoun-suffix words. There are also eight words whose inclusion seems inappropriate.

4. INFERRING FORM CLASSES FROM FORM CONTEXTS

In this section, analyses parallel to those in the previous section are carried out, this time based on the text segmented into *forms*. In the process, the three complicating factors discussed in section 1.4 are appropriately dealt with: agglutination, orthographic variations, and missing punctuation.

4.1 Focus Forms and Focus Context

As before, the text is derived from B19ᵃ. *Ketib* readings are not replaced by *qere* readings. Aramaic verses are omitted.[70] To neutralize the sample-diluting effects of agglutination, forms are created by dissecting affixes.[71] For similar reasons, form-initial *dageshim* are deleted. Segmentation and *dagesh* deletion reduce the proliferation of form types. For example, after segmentation and *dagesh* deletion, the fourteen word types involving *David* tabulated earlier reduce to the two forms דָוִד and דָוִיד. To allow diachronic study, *plene/defective* variants are kept.[72] The data are also augmented by marking main clause boundaries on the basis of our parsing.[73]

As a result of these data preparation steps, the text for analysis consists of 524,412 form tokens and 28,756 form types. (Preparation achieves a highly desirable 74% increase in corpus size [by form-token count] and a similarly desirable 44% decrease in lexicon size [by form-type count].)

The form contexts for Genesis 1:1 are as shown in Table 3. These are analogous to the word contexts shown in Table 1. Note that the form-initial *dageshim* have been deleted in the table.

Analysis proceeds along the same lines as in the previous section with one addition. Because small data samples lead to unreliable statistical inferences, we censor (delete) ten forms whose contexts have fewer than thirty high-frequency neighbours.[74] Because the text size by form token counts is 74% larger than that by word counts and the lexicon size is 44% smaller, one expects the form-based analysis to be more reliable than the word-based analysis.

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[70] Three further technical adjustments are made. 1. All homograph-resolving appended-commas are deleted. 2. All inserted speech onset markers are deleted. 3. All *qere w/lo' ketib* (empty) records are deleted.

[71] F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, "Problems in Taxonomy and Lemmatization," 37–50.

[72] In this analysis, variant vowel-pointings are retained. Were these pointings normalized, the stock of lexicon types would be further reduced.

[73] Andersen–Forbes, "Marking."

[74] Seven pronoun suffixes are dropped, as are -וְ , -הָ, and מֵאוֹת.

n+3	*n+2*	*n+1*	*focus form*	*n-1*
אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא	רֵאשִׁית	בְּ	
אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא	רֵאשִׁית	בְּ
הַ	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא	רֵאשִׁית
שָׁמַיִם	הַ	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים	בָּרָא
וְ	שָׁמַיִם	הַ	אֵת	אֱלֹהִים
אֵת	וְ	שָׁמַיִם	הַ	אֵת
הָ	אֵת	וְ	שָׁמַיִם	הַ
אָרֶץ	הָ	אֵת	וְ	שָׁמַיִם
׃	אָרֶץ	הָ	אֵת	וְ
וְ	׃	אָרֶץ	הָ	אֵת
הָ	וְ	׃	אָרֶץ	הָ
אָֽרֶץ	הָ	וְ	׃	אָרֶץ

Table 3. Focus Forms and Contexts for Gen 1:1

4.2 Ordinal Scaling of Focus Forms Using Their Contexts

Figure 12 shows the results of ordinal scaling of the censored 250 most frequent focus forms. Kruskal's stress for this scaling is almost 22%, slightly better than that of the result for words shown in Figure 4 (25%) but still poor.

As was found with words, the forms organize themselves into a squish. As one moves counter-clockwise from the positive x-axis, one encounters first substantives (in the upper two quadrants),[75] then prepositions, then quasiverbals and particles, and then verbs. The quasiverbals and particles and the verbs are reversed from what is found in Figure 4 above. Until the phenomena that produce the squish behaviour are discovered, studied, and understood, the significance—if any—of this permutation can not be assessed.

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[75] Those readers not inclined to attempt to decode the swarm of words in the first quadrant should rest confident in the knowledge that the words there are almost entirely substantives.
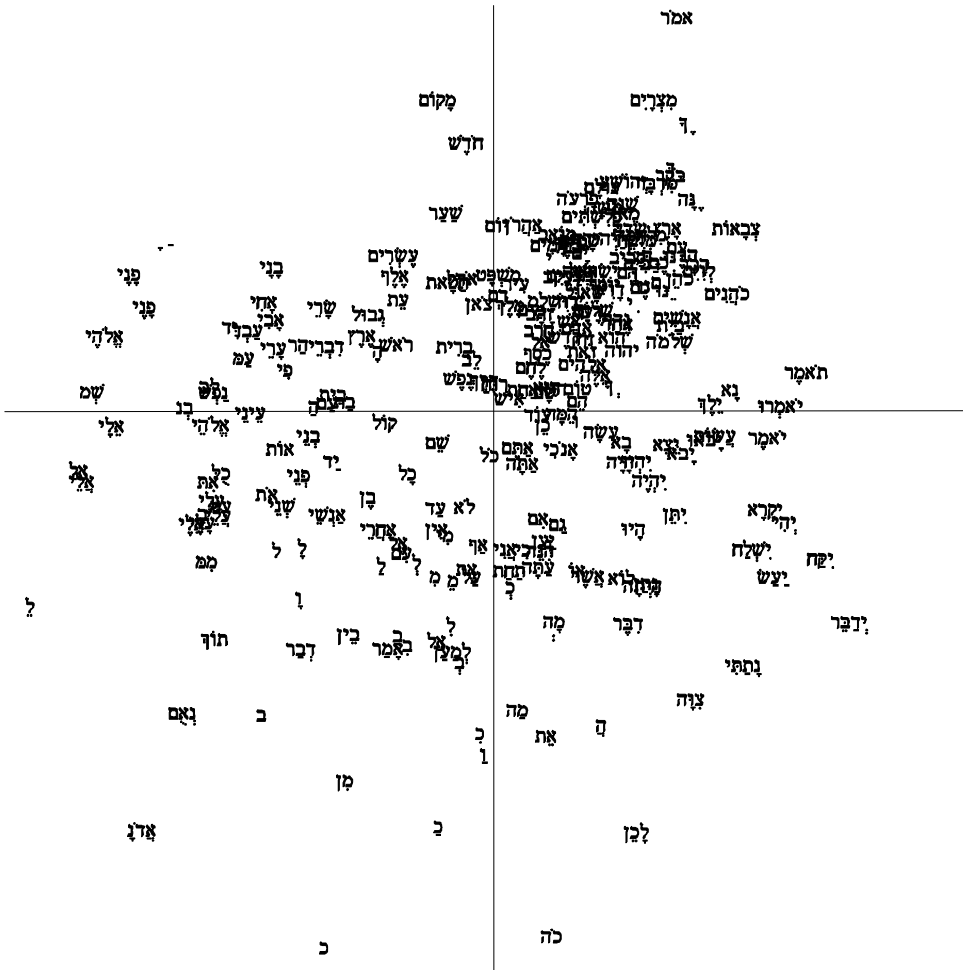
Figure 12. Ordinal Scaling Plot of Frequent Forms

4.3 Clustering Focus Forms Using Their Contexts

As with word-based analysis, each context array first has its rows normalized by their average values. Then all four simple contexts are combined to create an overall context array. From this array, the Manhattan distances among the forms are computed. These distances are then used by an average-link hierarchical clustering algorithm to produce Figure 13. The cophenetic correlation coefficient for this tree is 0.8, barely acceptable.[76] The double arrows down the left side of the figure show the four sub-trees that are magnified in Figures 14 through 17.

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[76] Why this and other coefficients are so low will be discussed below.
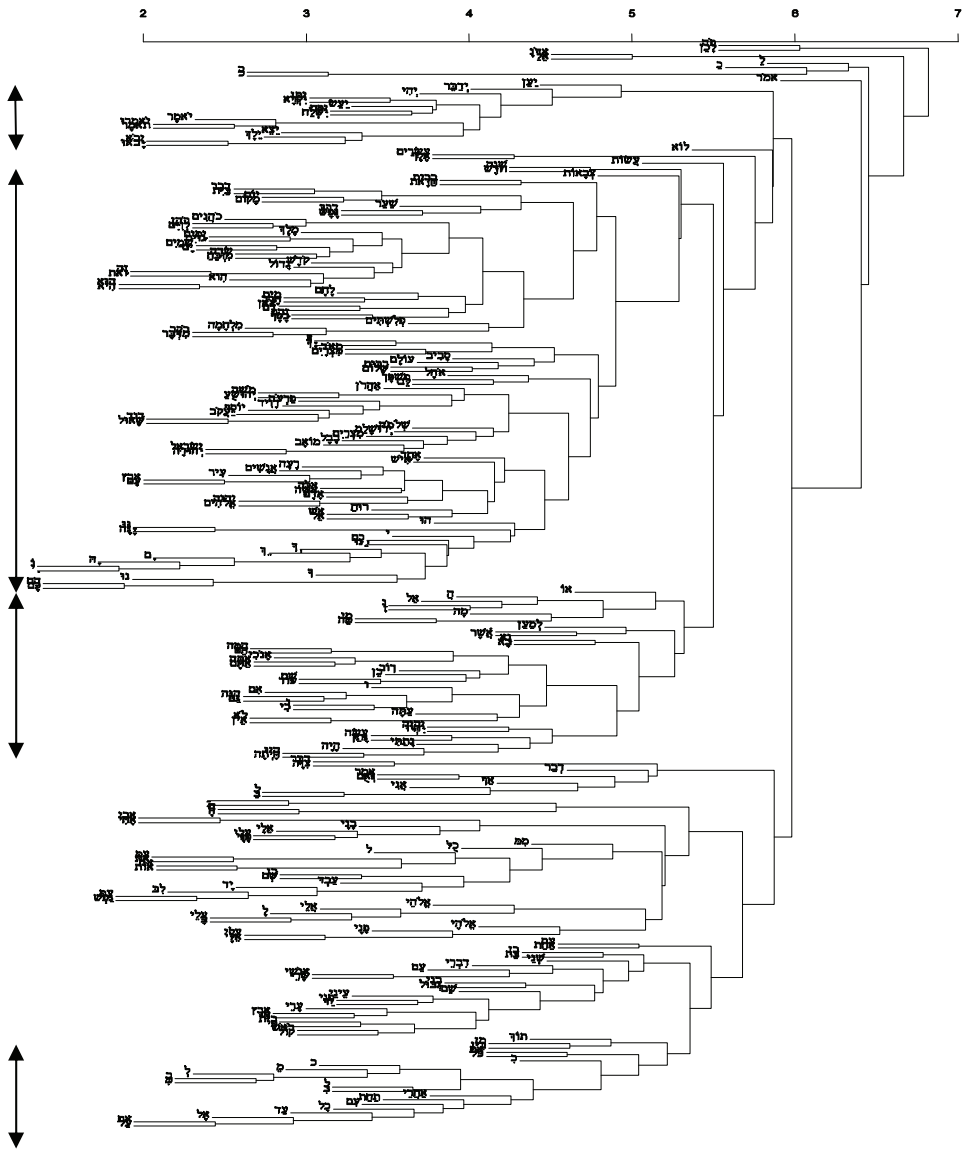
Figure 13. Dendrogram for 250 Most Frequent Forms

Figure 14 shows the upper arrowed sub-tree from Figure 13. Five additional verb forms have been added to the ten in the sub-tree in Figure 10. All of the verbs are prefix forms. Notice that the last verb form to join the cluster is יַעַן. This likely is because the *dagesh*-deleted form is a homograph. In the fully labelled text, the form is a verb 112 times, a preposition nine times, and a subordinating conjunction ninety times. The problem of homography will be addressed in a subsequent essay.

Figure 15 shows the lowest arrowed sub-tree in Figure 13. It consists of sixteen prepositions, up from eleven in the word cluster in Figure 8. Other prepositions appear elsewhere in Figure 13, as parts of extended sub-trees and also scattered about.

Figure 14. Verb Form Sub-Tree   Figure 15. Preposition Form Sub-Tree

Figure 16 shows the second arrowed sub-tree in Figure 13. It consists of ninety-six forms, predominantly substantives. Its congener from word analysis, shown in Figure 7, has only thirty-three words. About midway down in the sub-tree is a pair of pronoun suffixes dislocated from the lowest part of the sub-tree. Why? Below the two suffixes we see the substantive-derived adverbial form מְאֹד.

Figure 16. Substantive Form Sub-Tree

The third arrowed sub-tree in Figure 13 is given in Figure 17. The seven "particles" in word-based Figure 9 are now thirty-nine in form-based Figure 17.
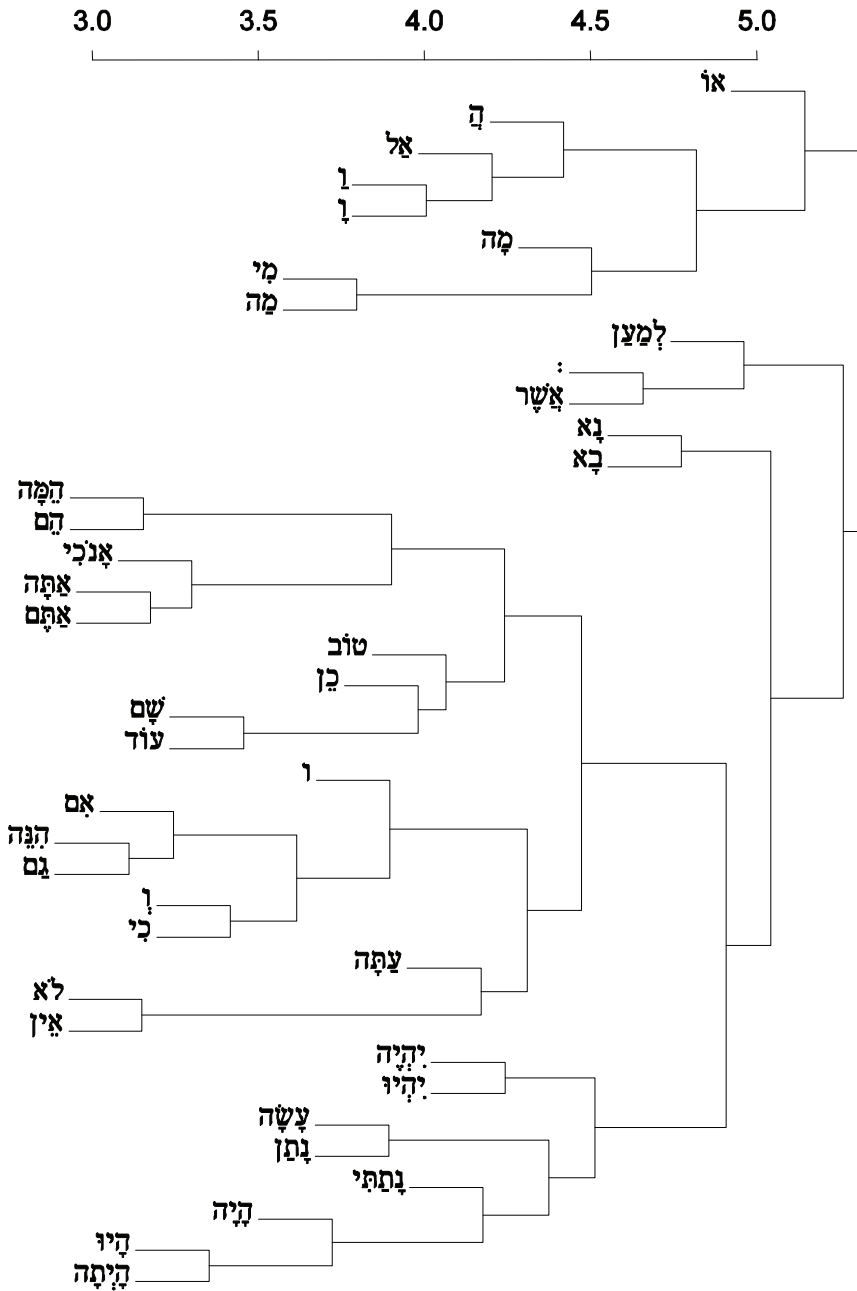
Figure 17. Particle Form Sub-Tree

This particle sub-tree includes many forms of interest. Note, for instance, the following phenomena:

- Two clause-initiating forms are grouped together appropriately: אֲשֶׁר (the embedded clause introducer) and ׃ (the parsed clause boundary).
- The common suffixed verb form בָא *he came* (196 times) is puzzlingly grouped with the particle נָא *please*.
- A cluster of five free pronouns is included. Why?
- טוֹב *good* is grouped with כֵן *thus*. Why?
- The form וֹ is isolated from its mates. This likely is because the form is homographic when dissected off. It is the 3rd sing. pronoun suffix וֹ- *his/him* or, when its *dagesh* is restored, is word-initial וֹ- *and*.
- Eight verb forms, five of them derived from היה, make up a cluster at the bottom of Figure 17. Why are these verbs here, and why is יְהִי in Figure 14?
- Four forms that we would expect to be in this particle sub-tree are elsewhere in Figure 13: כה *thus*, לָכֵן *therefore*, לוֹא *no*, and אַף *also*. The positions of these forms in the tree need to be explained.

5. FINAL COMMENT

Using only the incidence counts of the words (forms) in the local context of focus words (forms) in the Hebrew Bible, we have grouped the most frequently occurring focus items using both geometrical and hierarchical methods. For both sorts of objects under both sorts of analysis, the resulting groupings show promise but exhibit oddities that must either be accounted for or eliminated. Much of our difficulty results from the fact that we are trying to squeeze much insight from little data. We cannot increase the amount of data, but we can implement ways of handling the data whereby more of it is exploited by our analyses. In future work, we shall do just that.

"It is ironic that the first thing one learns can be the last thing one understands."
—*Mark C. Baker*[77]

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[77] M.C. Baker, *Lexical Categories*, 1.

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CHAPTER 2
ALPHA PRIVATIVES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT EPISTLES

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Greek words beginning with *alpha* privatives are particularly common in the Pauline epistles. These caused problems for the translators of the Peshitta since Syriac lacked an equivalent way of prefixing a negative to words. The Syriac renderings of *alpha* privatives display a range of interesting phenomena, including use of a positive Syriac word for a negative Greek one, word order disturbances, and semantic loss.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper considers a particular feature of the Greek language that appears to have provided the Peshitta translators with some difficulty. Specifically we consider the Greek *alpha* privative—a feature of lexical formation whereby the letter *alpha* (or *alpha-nu*) is prefixed to a Greek form and the form is thereby negated. This is especially common in the epistles, which in this article should be understood as referring solely to the 13-letter Pauline corpus.

Before focussing on this rather specific topic we need to step back and look at the larger picture provided by Syriac translation literature. Syriac, of course, has a vast range of translation literature made on the basis of Greek *Vorlagen*. Syriac is essentially a Semitic language even if in its middle phases it departs from classic Semitic patterns of vocabulary formation. In its prehistory and early phases before the rise of Arabic it was in considerable contact with the Indo-European language Greek.

However, as a Semitic language Syriac was not initially particularly receptive to compounding vocabulary, that is, making a new word by putting two words together or by simple addition of an affix to a word. On the other hand, Greek, just as other Indo-European languages, regularly accepted vocabulary compounding and added affixes to roots to produce new vocabulary. Semitic languages do use affixes, prefixes, and certain suffixes, though these tend to be associated with various arrangements of consonants and vowels within the root. Compounding is generally rare. Consequently translation from Greek into Syriac means translation from a language open to compounding into one much less open to this.

If one ignores multilingual inscriptions involving Semitic and Indo-European languages (for example, the Karatepe inscription in Phoenician and Luwian or the Behistun inscription in Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite), one can see that in fact Greek-to-Syriac translation literature is one of the first corpora in history to result from translation from an Indo-European into a Semitic language. The process is therefore highly interesting to observe both in regard to the development of translation method and also in regard to the peculiar problems it throws up. Any lexicographical project on Syriac needs to recognize this issue and to consider its significance for Syriac lexicography.

Here we will focus on the case of *alpha* privatives in Greek. They are one of the simplest illustrations of translation problems caused by fundamentally different structures between the source and target languages.

Indo-European languages generally have a negative prefix. Perhaps this was originally vocalic *n*, but it developed into *-un* in English and German, *-on* in Dutch, *-in* in Latin and *a* or *an* in ancient Greek. The prefix readily attaches itself to verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs to negate them, and provides great enrichment to the vocabulary of the Indo-European languages. As well as "happy" we can be "unhappy" as well as plain "sad." It establishes antonymic relationships, but also provides a ready mechanism for two or more words to stand in different antonymic relationships to a single item of vocabulary.

By my count about 130 of the vocabulary items in the Pauline epistles commence with an *alpha* privative. Of course, because the productivity of this privative element stretches over centuries or even millennia it is often the case that its privative sense has been lost. It is thus unlikely that speakers of Greek at the time of the New Testament, or at the time when the Greek New Testament was translated into Syriac, felt that the *alpha* beginning ἀλήθεια "truth" was in fact a negative, which countered a notion of "forgetfulness." Reaching a specific count for active *alpha* privatives in the New Testament is rather difficult. Was ἀργός "idle" really still felt to be antithetical to ἔργον "work," and what of καταργέω "to annul," which added the κατα- prefix to this already negated root? My reckoning therefore of 130 words with a potentially semantically active *alpha* privative has therefore not reached the number of *alpha* privatives which are such by etymology. This introduces a rather subjective element into my analysis, though this probably will not matter when we consider the larger picture.

In order to specify the problem that occurs when translating words with *alpha* privative into Syriac, the first thing to note is that there is no Syriac prefix which can negate in the manner of the Greek prefix. In this respect Syriac is not dissimilar to other Semitic languages. Syriac, unlike Greek, does not tend to define words by the negative relationship they have to another item of vocabulary. To be sure there is the negative ܠܐ, which is graphically freestanding. Negativity therefore can be and often is rendered in translation. But this particle does not generally form the same sort of liaison with a word as the Indo-European negative prefix. If we consider the Greek *alpha* privative lexemes in the Pauline corpus we see that almost as many of the lexemes are translated without a negative as are rendered with one. In fact if one were to open a Greek Pauline corpus and choose an

example of an *alpha* privative at random there is only a 44% chance that in the Peshitta it will be rendered by a construction with a negative.[1] In each case of an *alpha* privative in the Greek text it is more likely than not that it will be rendered without a Syriac negative.

This no doubt can be explained by a certain semantic leeching of the negative already having occurred within the Greek—the *alpha* was no longer felt to be negative, but this also testifies to the considerable translation challenge that the *alpha* privative represented.

2. TRANSLATION METHODS CONSIDERED MORE CLOSELY

Here we consider specific strategies for translation more closely.

Aside from simple negative and positive renderings there were also other devices. ἀσωτία twice is rendered by the loan ܐܣܘܛܘܬܐ, and a series of four *alpha* privatives are sometimes rendered with some compound of ܚܣܝܪ "lacking" or ܚܣܝܪܘܬܐ "lack:" ἀφροσύνη "folly," ἄφρων "foolish," ἀνόητος "foolish," and ἀπιστία "unbelief."

A common strategy when rendering these words was to use a simple Syriac negative. Thus ἄθεος in Eph 2:12 becomes simply ܕܠܐ ܐܠܗ, "without God." This strategy involves the least structural change between Greek and Syriac, even if an adjective becomes an adverbial phrase. The negative is most likely to be expressed in Syriac when a closely related word lacking the *alpha* is also in regular use, or when the negative word is used close by its positive equivalent. However, it is not always possible to predict where the Syriac negative will be positioned, and even when Syriac does have a negative, semantic developments can be detected.

Thus in 1 Cor 7 the single word ἄγαμος has four occurrences and four different renderings:

1 Cor 7:8 τοῖς ἀγάμοις = ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܐ
1 Cor 7:11 ἄγαμος = ܕܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ
1 Cor 7:32 ὁ ἄγαμος = ܐܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢܬܬܐ
1 Cor 7:34 ἡ ἄγαμος = ܐܝܕܐ ܕܠܓܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܬ

As well as supplying the gender of the marriage partner, the Syriac also introduces a possessive construction for the male and a "being possessed" construction for the female, despite the tensions this raises with Paul's insistence on mutual possession in 1 Cor 7:4.

A group of lexemes may be regularly rendered with a negative. The strongest group here consists of ἀπείθεια "disobedience, unbelief," ἀπειθέω "disobey," and ἀπειθής "disobedient," with 13 negative renderings and no positive ones. For ἀπείθεια in its four occurrences there is even a negated noun: ܠܐ ܡܬܛܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ. This Syriac abstract formed from a reflexive stem is surprisingly complex alongside much of the rest of the vocabulary of the

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[1] There are 148 negatively rendered cases against 190 positively rendered instances. When considered on a lexeme by lexeme basis there are 71 words that are rendered negatively against 67 that are rendered positively. Useful illustrative verses of varied renderings are: Phil 2:15; 1 Tim 1:9; 2 Tim 3:3; Titus 2:7–8.

Peshitta. The only similar rendering in the Peshitta epistles is the compound ܠܐ ܡܝܘܬܘܬܐ for ἀθανασία "immortality" in 1 Cor 15:53 and 15:54. Moreover, the negative is closely bound to the following form, even if it does not form one graphic unit with it. Here ܠܐ is beginning to move towards the territory of the Greek *alpha* privative, and to fill a role for which it was used more regularly from the sixth century on.

At the other end of the spectrum there are words with *alpha* privatives that are never rendered with a negative. The group of "unstrong" words, namely ἀσθένεια "unstrongness," ἀσθενέω "to be unstrong," ἀσθένημα "unstrongness," and ἀσθενής "unstrong," is such with 42 positive renderings and no negative ones. Here the original Greek force of negated strength was not felt, and the words were most usually rendered by the Syriac root *krh*, which probably involved a move in the direction of "illness," which was not always so clear in the Greek.

The group ἀδικέω "to be unjust," ἀδικία "injustice," and ἄδικος "unjust" was never rendered by a negative, but had 23 renderings of positive vice. Here Syriac contrasts with English translations that regularly use "iniquity," with its transparently negative derivation.

Instructive is also the pair ἀκαθαρσία "uncleanness" and ἀκάθαρτος "unclean" with 12 positive renderings and no negative ones. Here we are reminded that the Syriac, like the Hebrew Old Testament, had a binary opposition between "purity" and "filth," rather than one where the category to be avoided was defined solely in terms of not being in the other category, i.e. "*im*pure" or "*un*clean." There is no purity–impurity opposition or cleanness–uncleanness opposition, where a category is defined in terms of the other. Categories are defined in terms of what they are, rather than in terms of their relationship with another category.

Between the "unbelief" group, which is always rendered by a negative, and groups like the "unstrong" and "unclean" groups where a negative is never used we naturally have groups whose representation is more mixed: the translators could not decide whether or not to represent their negativity. One such is the "lawless" group: ἀνομία "lawlessness," ἄνομος "lawless," ἀνόμως "lawlessly."

ἀνομία is always rendered positively, ἀνόμως in its double occurrence in Rom 2:12 by a negative. ἄνομος is rendered both positively and negatively.

Translators similarly could not decide on the translation of the pair ἀδιάλειπτος "unceasing" and ἀδιαλείπτως "unceasingly," namely, whether prayers (or grief) took place "unceasingly" (Rom 9:2; 1 Thess 5:17), or simply "continually," that is, ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ (1 Thess 1:2; 2:13; 2 Tim 1:3). The solution in Rom 1:9 was a doublet translation where ἀδιαλείπτως became ܘܠܐ ܡܟܐ ܒܟܠܙܒܢ "without ceasing, all the time." It may be that the positive form of this goes back to an Old Syriac version of the epistles and the negative form to the Peshitta's revision.

We saw how the word ἄγαμος "unmarried" was always rendered by a negative, but that ideology could be seen in the choice of negative construction (in that case one expressing male ownership of the female). Such ideology may even be the deciding factor between whether a positive or negative construction should be used. Take the two lexemes

ἀφιλάγαθος "not loving good" (2 Tim 3:3) and ἀφιλάργυρος "not loving money" (1 Tim 3:3). The two words are strikingly similar in composition: *alpha* privative, the element φιλ- for "love" and the third element of the thing loved. We might therefore expect similar renderings in the Peshitta. However, whereas the Peshitta to 2 Tim 3:3 says that in the last times people will be ܟ̈ܬܐ ܣܢܝ "haters of good things" (the positive vocabulary item "hate" being used), in 1 Tim 3:3 the qualifications for an overseer are merely that he is ܟܣܦܐ ܪܚܡ ܠܐ "not loving money." Overseers will be relieved to know that they do not have to *hate* money, and the world outside stands condemned of hating good things rather than just *not loving* them.

The lack of decision on the part of the translators about whether to use a negative or a positive in some cases does not mean that we cannot discover rules for their action or motives for the renderings. On the whole negatives will be represented where they are important for the structure of an argument. Structural factors dominate, with an occasional subconscious ideological nudge.

Just how predictable the translators may be is seen in the case of the group of words for "ignorance" or "non-knowledge:" ἀγνοέω "to be ignorant," ἄγνοια, and ἀγνωσία both "ignorance." The negative element in this group was widely felt and therefore represented. Perhaps it is hard to represent "non-knowledge" as anything other than the negation of knowledge. But "non-knowledge" as an abstract cannot be expressed in Syriac at the time of the translation of the Peshitta.

Thus Paul's διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς (Eph 4:18) becomes ܕܗܘ ܡܛܠ ܝܕܥܬܐ "because there is not in them knowledge." It is not that "non-knowledge" is in them, but rather that "knowledge" is not in them. The Syriac simplifies to reach the underlying meaning. Similarly Paul's "Some have ignorance/non-knowledge of God" in 1 Cor 15:34 almost necessarily becomes something like "Some do not have knowledge of God."

The occurrences of the verb ἀγνοέω are generally simpler to represent than the nouns meaning "ignorance." Obviously, whereas the Syriac lacks a word for "non-knowledge" it can simply negate the verb "know" with the particle ܠܐ. Eight occurrences of the verb ἀγνοέω are thus safely rendered. What rather complicates things is the Pauline penchant for double negatives. He says: οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν (Rom 1:13; 11:25; 1 Cor 10:1; 12:1; 1 Thess 4:13 *v.l.*) or οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν (2 Cor 1:8; 1 Thess 4:13 *v.l.*) or οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα ἀγνοοῦμεν (2 Cor 2:11). Since Syriac has no negative prefix other than ܠܐ, to represent the Greek *alpha* as well as the other Greek negative would require the use of Syriac ܠܐ twice. The double negative thus produces a positive: ܘܬܕܥܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܪܚܐ "I want you to know" (5×), or ܪܚܝܢ ܘܬܕܥܘܢ "we want you to know" (1×), or ܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܓܝܪ ܝܕܥܝܢ "for we know his schemes" (1×). The pattern is completely consistent.

3. WORD ORDER DISTURBANCES

We consider now another kind of translation difficulty relating to *alpha* privatives: it seems that *alpha* privatives have been at the root of a number of disturbances in word order.

The first type of word order disturbance is easy to describe and was discussed in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography* I in connection with pair-reversal in Syriac translation.[2] It has been observed that there is a tendency in Syriac translations to reverse pairs of items relative to their *Vorlage*.[3] One instance in which a clear cause could be described, was when the first Greek word in a pair had an *alpha* privative. If this *alpha* privative were rendered by ܠܐ and the order of the pair were kept the same, then there would be a risk that the negative would be understood as applying to the whole phrase. Early Syriac translations avoid this by placing the negated word second in the pair even though it is first in Greek. I gave some examples of this in the Gospels:

(a) τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα (Mk 9:25) produces ܪܘܚܐ ܣܪܝܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ in Syr[sp].

(b) ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη (Mt 17:17 // Lk 9:41) produces three different renderings: ܐܘ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܡܥܩܠܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ (Mt 17:17 Syr[sc]), ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܘܡܥܩܠܬܐ (Lk 9:41 Syr[s]), and ܫܪܒܬܐ ܡܥܩܠܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ (Lk 9:41 Syr[c]).

To these we may now add the following examples (not just from the Pauline corpus):

Rom 10:21

πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα

ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ ܕܡܬܚܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܛܦܝܣ

1 Pet 1:8

χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ

ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܐ

I am now wondering whether it is correct to place these with the rest of the pair reversals, or whether they might not be treated as a separate category. It is possible to find re-orderings involving negatives but which are not strictly related to pairs. The same constraint, however, applies: if the negative had appeared too early in the phrase it was in danger of being understood to apply to more words than it should have done.

Consider the following examples:

• ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τοῦ πραέως καὶ ἡσυχίου

πνεύματος → ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܡܟܝܟܬܐ ܘ<u>ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܐ</u> (1 Pet 3:4)

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[2] Williams, "Matching Syriac Words," 160–62.

[3] The simplest global explanation of this phenomenon is simply that full mental segmentation of the text being translated had not yet been consistently developed. There are some pairs for which Syriac had a preferred order, and some for which there were structural reasons for a preferred order (e.g. *alpha* privatives). However, it may also be the case that the order of certain pairs was not considered sufficiently important a thing as to oblige the translator to represent it. Thus, while later translators may have striven to represent words sequentially and individually this was not initially the case in the earliest translations. More than one noun or verb could thus be taken into the translator's mind almost simultaneously and then represented in translation by either of two possible orders. The consequence of this was that the order of the pair in the translation was not always the same as that of the *Vorlage*. For further thoughts on the subject of segmentation see Barr, *Typology of Literalism*.

- κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον → ܠܡܩܒܠ ܟܠܝܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ

  ܚܡܐ (1 Pet 5:4)

- περὶ πάντα σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν

  σεμνότητα λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον → ܒܟܠ ܕܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܚܘܐ ܒܢܦܫܟ ܕܡܘܬܐ

  ܒܟܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܛܒܐ ܘܒܡܠܦܢܘܬܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܚܠܝܡܬܐ ܘܢܟܦܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܚܠܦܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܣܒ ܒܗ (Titus 2:7)

Here the equivalent of ἀφθορία "incorruptibility" is delayed so that the two negatives are grouped at the end (where they will not interfere with other phrases).

This calls for some sensitivity when we decide which words are equivalent to which in the original.

4. SEMANTIC LOSS

We need to take seriously the possibility of semantic loss or shift when an *alpha* privative is rendered into Syriac. The following is an illustration:

The word ἀνυπόκριτος "unhypocritical," "unfeigned" can be rendered into Syriac using a negative (Rom 12:9; 2 Cor 6:6). However, it is part of the group that translators may also render simply by a positive. When therefore 1 Tim 1:5 and 2 Tim 1:5 speak of ἀνυπόκριτος πίστις or πίστις ἀνυπόκριτος, this is rendered in Syriac: ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ "true faith," which is considerably more general than the Greek.

Similarly in Titus 1:2 ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός "the God who cannot/does not lie" becomes ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ "the true God." Thus, whereas the Greek denies "pretence" on one occasion and "lying" on another, the Syriac generally affirms truthfulness—it lacks the specificity of the Greek. Moreover, the rendering in Titus 1:2 "true God" may also allow the understanding "true God" as opposed to "false god" and does not make the sense "truth-telling God" sufficiently explicit.

We now consider another example of semantic shift. The word ἀόρατος "unseen," "unable to be seen" is a perspicuously negative word. It is thus rendered by negative words in Col 1:15, 16, and 1 Tim 1:17. It is particularly important to use the negative in the occurrences in Colossians since ἀόρατος occurs alongside its positive counterpart ὁρατός. However, a different route is taken in Rom 1:20. There τὰ ἀόρατα "the unseen things" of God become in Syriac ܟܣܝܬܐ "hidden things." This is not an isolated rendering since it is also found in the Syriac version of the Ignatian correspondence (to Polycarp, ch. 2). Why is something "unseen?" Has it necessarily been "hidden?" Or are we wrong to translate ܟܣܐ as "hide?" Should Qumranologists really render *nistārōth* as "hidden things?" Or is it inevitable that in languages that do not readily form negated vocabulary such concepts as "unseen" should be rendered by vocabulary that seems active to us. Such words that we may render

"hidden," however, may not be so active: they may not have quite the same connotations of an act having been carried out to reach the state. "Hidden" is simply "not seen."[4]

5. CONCLUSIONS

Unlike Greek ones, Syriac lexemes will tend to be made of words based on roots that do not by visual or audible structure express a semantic opposition to other words. The words tend to be defined in their own right, rather than by opposition to other words. This may raise questions for our understanding of these terms. For instance, should our glosses on these words in our dictionaries use fewer terms with affixed negatives than we do, say, in rendering Indo-European languages? Are these words covering wider areas than we have been prepared to admit (witness the example of the verb "hide")? Is there a way of recognizing that words like "true" are necessarily multivalent, potentially fulfilling more functions than an equivalent word in an Indo-European language? What are we to do with the fact that negation has so often been dispersed to a part of the phrase where there is no equivalent negative in Greek? At what point should we consider the prefix ܠܐ to be part of a lexeme? The cases of "unbelief" and "incorruptibility" show a close liaison between ܠܐ and what is classically considered a lexeme. More such liaisons would be formed in the century or so following the translation of the Peshitta as increasingly specific theological vocabulary was made to represent Greek theological vocabulary. An argument in favour of considering such terms as single lexical items would be if there were a lack of occurrences of the "positive" form without the negative.

As we consciously reflect on the problem of the *alpha* privative, we cannot be sure whether Syriac translators in antiquity saw the problem as we do. Nevertheless, we can see that this morpheme did indeed cause them to have recourse to a surprising range of different strategies in translation.

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[4] If I may be allowed a distant analogy to the limitations of vocabulary that might be felt by a Syriac translator of a Greek text, I can recount that, in the early stages of active vocabulary acquisition by my daughter, she repeatedly said that something she could not see was "hiding." Her mind, with its limited vocabulary resources, associated "unseen" with the less abstract notion of "hiding."

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CHAPTER 3
FORM AND FUNCTION IN THE TREATMENT OF THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

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The transitivity, intransitivity, stativity, or passivity of a verbal form affects the number and nature of elements in its valence pattern, that is, elements occurring along with it in a grammatically well-formed sentence. The more elements required, the more "verbal" the form is considered to be. The opposite is also true: the fewer the elements, the less inherently verbal the form is taken to be. Thus our judgement in classifying verbal forms is affected by the class of verbs to which a form belongs. Whole sets of verbs have ended up in classical lexica listed without certain paradigmatic forms, for example, participles, while the form corresponding exactly to the participle is given as a separate entry and called an adjective. Yet the latter function does not satisfactorily account for all occurrences of the form.

Due to their passive nature, passive participles tend to function attributively, but this is not the case everywhere and at all times. It is the "Doppelnatur"[1] of the participle which allows for the variety in its syntactic functions, but this does not change its part of speech. For lexica to be consistent in their treatment of language data, the systematic functioning of elements within the whole of the language must be kept in focus.

In constructing a lexicon, various principles can be followed. Usability and systematic elegance are both worthy goals. The effects of the two can be in conflict in the practical treatment of language data. Alternative treatments of the passive participle are presented and the effects are compared. Suggestions are made for preserving the best of both approaches.

1. THE PROBLEM

While trying to formulate what might be the basic issues underlying the various treatments of the participle in lexica, it seems to me that these are related to the context in which one chooses to operate when producing a lexicographical work. On the one hand, because of the

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[1] Cf. Sellin, *Die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive und ihre darauf beruhende verschiedene Construktion*; Kahan, *Über die verbalnominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive und ihre darauf beruhende verschiedene Konstruktion.*

desire to be easily accessible to the student, there is the tendency to assign a specific function to a particular form encountered. Because a lexicon by its nature focuses on separate words, this approach is attractive and can appear to have few drawbacks. On the other hand, when seeking to serve the more advanced scholar, there is the necessity of placing a form within the context of the language system as a whole, and, even beyond that, of placing it within the context of how language systems operate in general.

In the end, there is no real need to polarize these two approaches. It is possible to preserve the benefits of each approach and to build a lexicon which both accommodates the beginner and satisfies the more advanced scholar.

To understand the approach I advocate for the treatment of the passive participle in Syriac, it is necessary to look beyond the passive participle at all participles and beyond Syriac at other languages with comparable phenomena. I would not go so far as to say that I place it "in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour," as Kenneth Pike did when presenting his linguistic theory (tagmemics),[2] but I would like to treat it in relation to a unified theory of the structure of linguistic behaviour rather than to concentrate on isolated occurrences of the passive participle within a limited selection of texts from a single language.

The motivation for such an approach arises not only from my own fascination with general linguistics, but also from the practical demands of the research project with which I work, in which we attempt to let the computer analyze language data on the basis of formally recognizable patterns.

Many of us will remember how Terry Falla described the turnabout in his approach caused by the remark of Francis Andersen: "If it is a noun, call it a noun; if it is an adjective, call it an adjective." Previously, however, I have suggested almost exactly the opposite approach, namely, treating the participle according to its form as a part of the verbal paradigm and deriving functions on the basis of a single set of syntactic rules applicable in all cases.[3]

As I understand the approach suggested by Andersen, a single form will have as many lexical entries as it has functions. For the participle this could add up to as many as four: verb, noun, adjective, and sometimes even adverb, that is, when functioning as a subject-oriented adjunct. Furthermore, some participial forms would be given more, and others fewer entries depending on what is encountered in the selection of texts on which the lexicon is based. What is attractive in the approach suggested by Andersen is that in a specific case the user is supplied a particular function chosen by the lexicographer in his or her unfathomable wisdom as being applicable in that exact case, but only if the lexicon happens to have covered the material the student is interested in. Practically speaking, there are a number of drawbacks to this approach:

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[2] Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior.*
[3] Dyk, "Syntactic Desiderata," 150–51.

- the separate entries for a single form would appear to be homonyms, which they are not;
- the number and types of entries are limited to the exact selection of texts upon which the lexicon is based and would need to be adjusted and expanded for other texts, that is, the scope of applicability of such a lexicon would be limited;
- the fact that there is a single, universally applicable set of syntactic rules which determine the function of participles is not reflected by having a separate entry for each function.

In considering the fate of passive participles in lexica, it appears that some always end up as adjectives, while others score more highly at being presented under the verbal entry. To what are the scholars reacting in making such distinctions among the passive participles? On what basis, for example, is ܟܬܝܒ "being written" accepted as a form of the verb ܟܬܒ, while the form ܚܣܢ, corresponding to the paradigmatic form of the passive participle, occurs as a separate entry, and the verb ܒܐܫ, "to be evil; to seem evil," has no form listed for the passive participle?

The transitivity, intransitivity, stativity, or passivity of a verb itself affects the number and nature of elements governed verbally. The more elements that fall under this verbal government, the more "verbal" the form is perceived to be. The opposite is also true: the fewer such elements there are, the less inherently verbal the form is taken to be. Thus our judgment in classifying verbal forms is affected by the class of verbs to which a form belongs. Whole sets of verbs have ended up in classical lexica listed without certain paradigmatic forms, in particular, the participle, while the form corresponding exactly to the participle is given as a separate entry and called an adjective. Though, due to their passive nature, passive participles tend to function attributively, this function is not satisfactory for all occurrences of the form.[4]

Still another factor might be playing a role. It seems that the grammar of the language in which the lexicon or grammar is written affects the value given to verbal forms in the source language, as seems to be the case in the following explanation of certain passive participles:

> Note especially the syntagm ܟܬܝܒ ܠ-, which has the same value as the Engl. (Present) Perfect *I have written*, expressing a result, and what follows the preposition represents the *subject* of the verb: ܣܓܝܐܢ ܐܢܝ̈ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܝܕܢ ܠܢ "many are things that we have done." Also with a passive Ptc. in Pa. or Af.: ... ܫܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܠܝ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܡܠܟܐ "the peace treaty which I have concluded with our lord the Emperor."[5]

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[4] Cf. Goldenberg, "Syriac Sentence Structure," 115: "An important point that deserves closer attention than it has usually commanded is that in the domain of syntax the category of participles should be considered as also comprising the participial adjectives."

[5] Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, 67 (§84).

The literal translations supplied by Nöldeke for his examples of passive participles seem to reflect more consistently the inherent nature of the Syriac construction:

> A favourite mode of employing this Part. includes mention of the agent introduced by ܠ: … ܥܒܝܕ ܠܝ "(has been) done by me" = "I have done". A logical object may stand with it as grammatical subject; but such may also be wanting, so that the form of the verb may be impersonal; thus it may be formed even with intransitive verbs: ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܝܥ ܠܝ … Luke 1:34;[6] ܟܬܒܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܟ "hast thou read the books?"[7] Spic. 13, 8 …[8]

The crux of the matter is that participles—both active and passive—have the potential to function as verbs, both in independent and in dependent clauses, as nouns, as adjectives,[9] and even as adverbs (subject-oriented adjuncts), as can be seen from the following examples:

	active participles	passive participles
verb	ܘܡܟܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܒܠܒܘܫܐ "and they *covered* him with garments" (1 Kgs 1:1)	ܘܐܚܝܐ ܡܟܣܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܒܘܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ "and Ahijah was *clothed* with a new garment" (1 Kgs 11:29)
noun	ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ "true *believer*"	ܒܝܬ ܓܙܐ ܕܢܬܢ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ "the treasure house of Nathan, the king's *minister*" (2 Kgs 23:11)
adjective	ܪܘܚܐ ܛܥܝܐ "an *erring* spirit" (Isa 19:14)	ܦܬܟܪܐ ܓܒܝܠܐ ܘܕܓܠܬܐ "idols *fashioned* and false" Anc. Doc. 42, 22[10]

For an example of a participle as a subject-oriented adjunct functioning adverbially in the sentence we turn to Hebrew, since for this Syriac characteristically uses a construction involving the particle ܟܕ, so that the syntactic relationship with the larger context is mediated by the particle.

> ויתן אל־הגר שם על־שכמה
> [And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a skin of water,]
> and gave (it) to Hagar, putting (it) on her shoulder (Gen 21:14)

Thus, due to its being both nominal and verbal, as can be observed in its morphology, the participle can participate in a wide variety of syntactic contexts. What determines its function in a particular instance is the element which governs the participle syntactically, and the

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[6] Gloss: "I do not know a man" (lit: "a man is not known to me").

[7] Literally: "are the books to you read ones?"

[8] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 219 (§279).

[9] Cf. Goldenberg, "Predicative Adjectives," 718: "Predicative participials in Syriac may enter constructions that can be ranged from the purely 'substantival' to the 'verbal.'"

[10] Cited in Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 222 (§282).

elements which fall under the syntactic government of the participle itself. The language deals with these multiple functions systematically, that is, the syntax in which a form appears designates the function which the form has at that point. To avoid creating new syntactic rules for each instance, a single set of rules, covering the syntactic environments in which a participle occurs, has been developed. The rules work as a fall-through system,[11] that is, a structure lodges where its syntactic characteristics match the description, rather like a coin counter where a coin lodges in the counter at the position matching its dimensions. In each particular instance the form falls through the set of rules and lodges in the position matching its syntax. The syntactic function is assigned on the basis of the structure involved.

My approach to the participle was developed for Hebrew data in which the participle exhibits great flexibility in its syntactic function. Although it appears that the Syriac material makes a proportionally heavier use of fewer of the syntactic rules, the Syriac material still fits into the more extensive set of rules, and the versatility of a participial form is manifest in the Syriac data as well.

2. THE CORE OF THE PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTION

At the core of a participial construction is the participle itself with its potential to govern elements verbally. In 1 Kgs 1:1 "him" and "with garments" are verbally governed by the verb "cover." Together with the elements governed by it verbally, the participle is governed by elements in the broader context from which derives its final function.

Elements which manifest characteristics of more than one lexical category require that the different components be accounted for in the analysis and that the scope of the syntactic effects of a particular category be indicated. The basic structure of linguistic rules here employed is that of a head expanded by other elements at various levels manifesting particular relationships to the head:

XP → Spec X"	A phrase can have a "specifier," e.g., the subject of a VP or the definite articles in a NP
X" → X" YP	A phrase can have non-obligatory expansions, e.g., adjuncts of a VP or attributive or appositional phrases in a NP
X' → X YP	The head of a phrase can have obligatory expansions, e.g., complements of verbs and, in Semitic languages, the *nomen rectum* following the *nomen regens*

Alongside these structures there is also the coordinated phrase structure in which two or more phrases which do not govern each other are joined by a conjunction. This will be noted here as:

CjP → XP Cj XP   phrases, not governing each other, joined by a conjunction

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[11] For use of the term, see Kernighan–Ritchie, *C Programming Language*, 59.

In work done by Lappia and Voskuil[12] on nominal infinitives it has been proposed that elements with both nominal and verbal characteristics be accounted for in terms of head movement. Within a noun phrase, a lexically empty zero-level category with nominal properties is assumed, which can govern a verbal category. The head of the verbal phrase is moved to the empty zero-level category with nominal properties where it assumes these properties. The rule has a verbal dimension justifying the presence of the verbal aspects of the form and a nominal dimension accounting for its nominal characteristics.

This rule seems to work well to account for the syntax of participial constructions. It can be depicted as follows:[13]
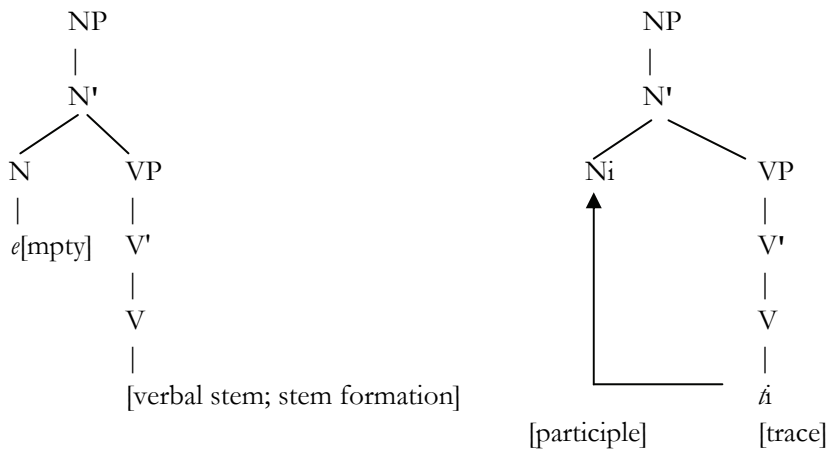
By head-to-head movement, the head of the VP moves to the head of the NP and acquires nominal properties, leaving a coindexed trace (t) behind. This trace maintains the verbal government over the elements belonging to the participle in its verbal properties. In the diagrams, levels which are not filled in the structure being discussed will not be depicted.

3. FALL-THROUGH RULES

A short list of questions provides the "fall-through" route for processing the participle. They are presented here one by one and accompanied by examples:

(1)   Are there elements present which belong under the verbal government of the participle?
→   Take these elements along as one syntactic package belonging under the verbal government of the participle.

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[12] Lappia–Voskuil, "Nominal Infinitives."
[13] Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 58–59.

1 Kgs 1:1

left to right:

محصم
covering

لمه ححهمقا
him with garments

"(they) were covering him with garments"
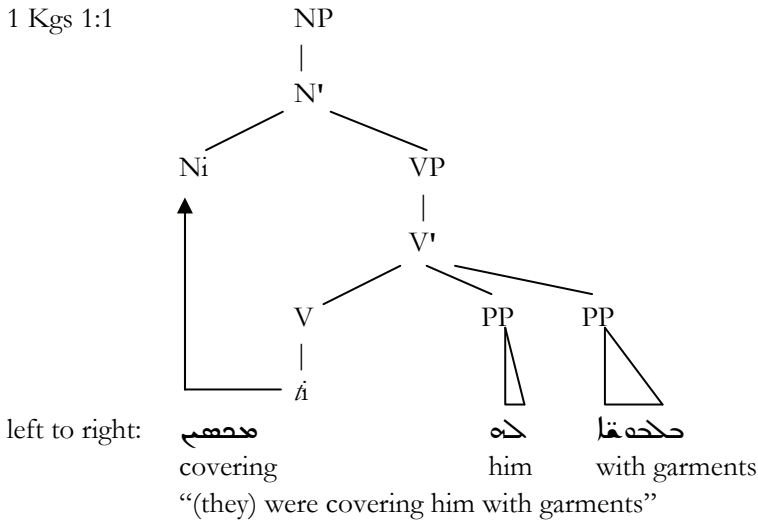
Example 1.

This construction could then be embedded within a nominal environment, for example, in the hypothetical sentence: "Those covering him with garments left the room abruptly," where the participial construction with its verbally governed elements would function as the subject of the sentence. Admittedly, in English we need an additional pronominal element "those" or "the ones" to make the example work; in Hebrew the added pronoun would not be necessary.

Besides elements which the participle governs verbally, there are other elements syntactically related to the participle.

(2)   Are there elements present syntactically related to the participle within the nominal phrase structure?
→   The participle has a non-verbal function within the larger context, though it still verbally governs the elements as described under Rule 1.

In cases where there are lexically filled nodes within the noun-phrase structure, the participle remains verbal within the smaller context, but is nominal or adjectival within the larger context. The choice between a nominal and an adjectival function is again determined by the elements under whose government the participle occurs.

In Example 2, the participle has a lexically filled node occurring higher in the NP hierarchy (the adjective) and cannot therefore function as a verb within the larger environment. Here it is nominal in function because it is a noun that can be expanded by an adjective. The phrase as a whole can occur in various positions within a sentence (subject, object, object of a prepositional phrase, and so on).

NP
|
N"

N'   AdjP

Ni   VP
|
V'
|
ᴄ́
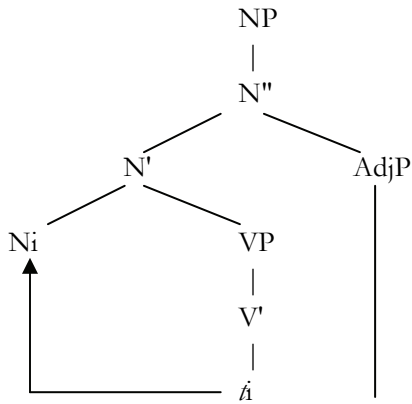
left to right: ܡܗܝܡܢܐ   ܐܡܝܢܐ
            believer   true
            "a true believer"

Example 2.

2 Kgs 23:11

NP
|
N"

N'   PP

P   NP
|
N"

N'   NP
|
N"

N'   PP

Ni   VP
|
V'
|
ᴄ́
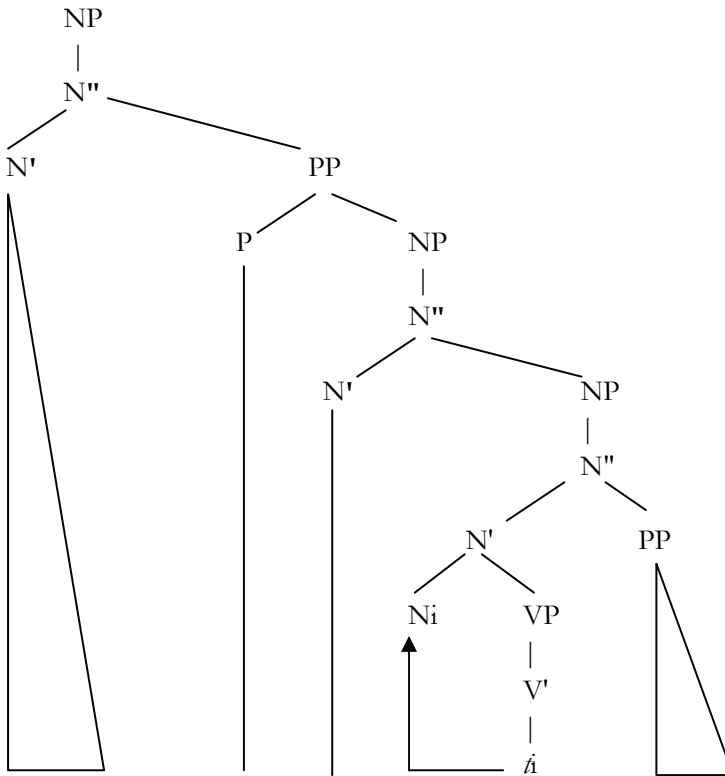
left to right: ܒܝܬ ܓܙܐ   ܢܬܢ ܕ   ܡܗܝܡܢܐ   ܘܡܠܟܐ
            house-of treasure   of Nathan   minister   of the king
            "the treasure house of Nathan, the king's minister"

Example 3.

That a passive participle can function in like manner is illustrated in Example 3.
In Example 4, an active and a passive participle both function attributively.

Anc. Doc. 42, 22

left to right:

ܦܬܟ̈ܪܐ	ܥܒܝܕܐ	ܘ	ܛܥܝܐ
idols	made	and	erring

"idols fashioned and erring (false)"
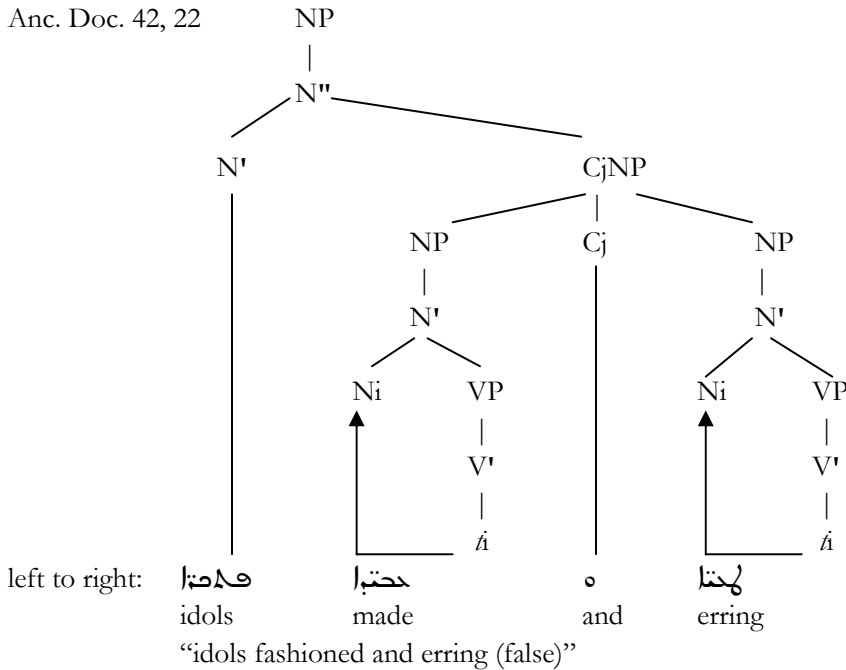
Example 4.

The head of a nominal phrase can be expanded by apposition or attribution, among other things—here the two participles which expand the head of the NP are functioning either appositionally or attributively. If the participles are to be taken as appositional, they would be functioning as nouns and the translation would be slightly different: "idols, those fashioned and erring ones," which is rather cumbersome.

After perusing the nominal phrase environment, we move on to the main predication of the clause within which the participle occurs.

(3)   Is the main verbal node of the clause lexically filled?
→   If the main verbal node is filled by some verb other than "to be," then the participle is not the main verb but functions as part of some constituent belonging under the verbal government of that verb.

In Example 5, a participle in the construct state verbally governs a direct object, while simultaneously being governed by another verb within the syntactic hierarchy.

It could even be that the embedded nominal structure in which the participle finds itself occasions its appearance in construct state. More examples are needed to confirm this suspicion (compare similarly 1 Kgs 2:7; 2 Kgs 23:4).

2 Kgs 24:16

left to right: ܟܠܗܘܢ ‎ ܓܒ̈ܪܐ ‎ ܥܒ̈ܕܝ ‎ ܩܪܒܐ ‎ ... ܐܝܬܝ ܐܢܘܢ ‎ ... ܠܒܒܠ

all-them   men   making   war   he brought them … to Babylon

"all the war-making men, the king of Babylon brought them [in captivity] to Babylon"
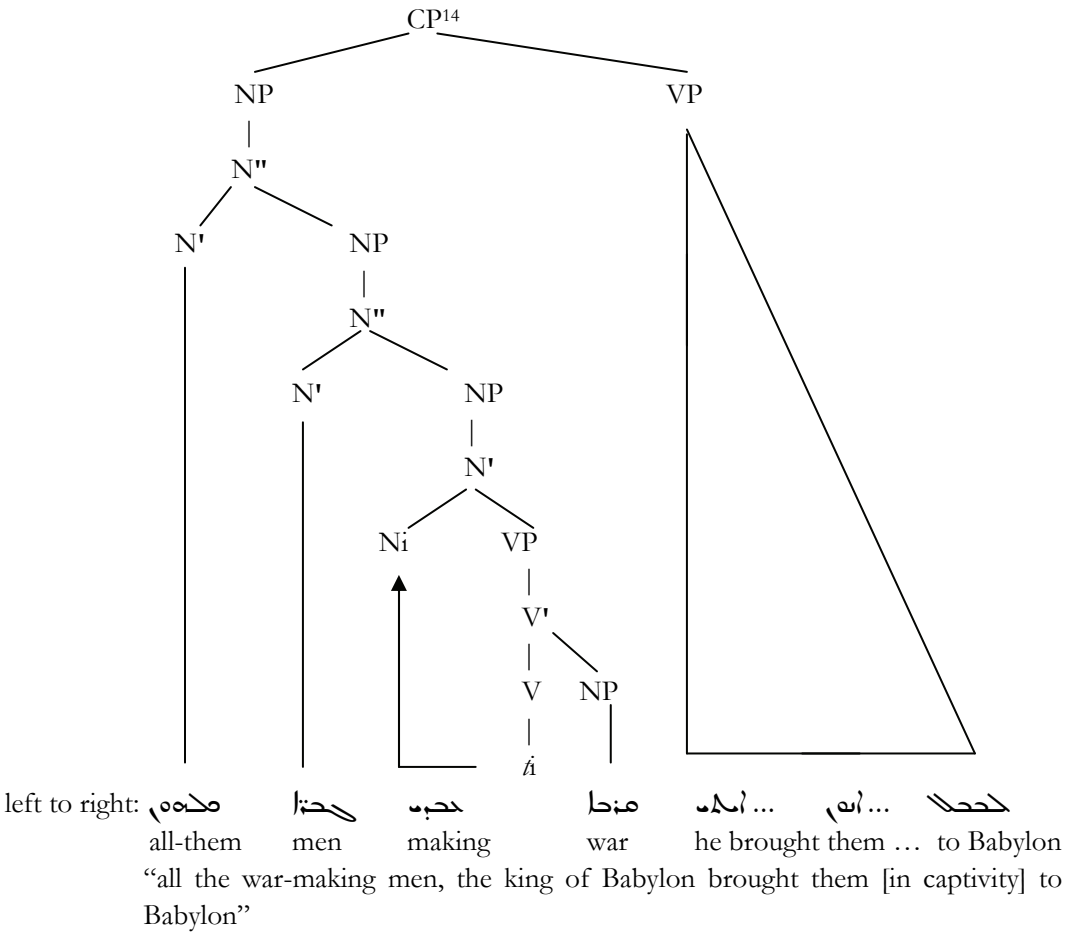
Example 5.

Returning to question 3 above, there is another possible answer:

→   If the main verbal node is empty, that is, is filled by the Ø-copula or if the main verbal node is filled by a form of the verb "to be" and there are no lexically filled nodes in the NP structure in which the participle occurs, then the participle is the head of the predicate complement and can be reinterpreted as the main verb of the sentence functioning together with a form of "to be" when present.

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[14] The CP refers to a "Complementizer Phrase," a phrase structure which functions at a higher level than the VP, in this case relating the fronted *casus pendens* element to the following VP.

4. COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS

To justify the proposal above, we make a short diversion to explain this treatment of "to be" and the verbless clause. Whereas most verbs define the sort of situation in which the subject is to be found or the relationship obtaining between the subject and the verbal complements or adjuncts, the copula allows for a great diversity in the relationships between the subject and the predicate complement. This has led some linguists to posit several separate copulas in the lexicon to cover the diverse relationships between the two elements, for example, relationships of identity, class membership, existence, location, and so on.

Peculiar to the copula is that both subject and predicate complement agree in number, gender and case (where applicable). In treating copula structures, Heggie proposed a "unified approach" to the copula where "to be" is taken to be an element which selects a small clause (also known as the verbless clause) as complement.[15] Heggie extends her analysis of copular constructions to cover data from Modern Hebrew in which the copula is absent. For these she posits a non-overt copula which operates as the lexical copula does, producing canonical clausal structures. Elements within a proposition lacking a verb have similar syntactic relations to one another as do elements within propositions containing a lexical copula. This has led me to assume the presence of a "Ø-copula" for propositions lacking a verb. Whether the "Ø-copula" should be assumed in a particular case is determined on the phrase and clause boundaries, that is, whether the phrases involved constitute an independent proposition or whether they merely further modify one another within a larger syntactic unit.

In Example 6, the participle is clearly embedded within the predicate complement. Here the participle with a verbal adjunct is subject to the government of other elements higher in the syntactic hierarchy, in this case to the preposition بـ which functions as the predicate complement of the copula. The subject of the small clause is here co-indexed with the Spec (subject) of the VP higher in the hierarchy.

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[15] Heggie, *Syntax of Copular Structures*, 47, 50; incorporated in Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 118–19.

1 Kgs 2:7

```
                        VP
                   ╱        ╲
              Specii          V'
                │          ╱      ╲
             3mpl  V            SmCl
                    │          ╱    ╲
                    │        NP      PP
                    │        │     ╱    ╲
                    │       ћii  P        NP
                    │        │            │
                    │        │            N'
                    │        │          ╱    ╲
                    │        │        Ni      VP
                    │        │         ↑       │
                    │        │         │       V"
                    │        │         │     ╱    ╲
                    │        │         │    V      NP
                    │        │         │    │      ╱│
                    │        │         │    V     ╱ │
                    │        │         │    │    ╱  │
                    │        │         │    ћ   ╱   │
```
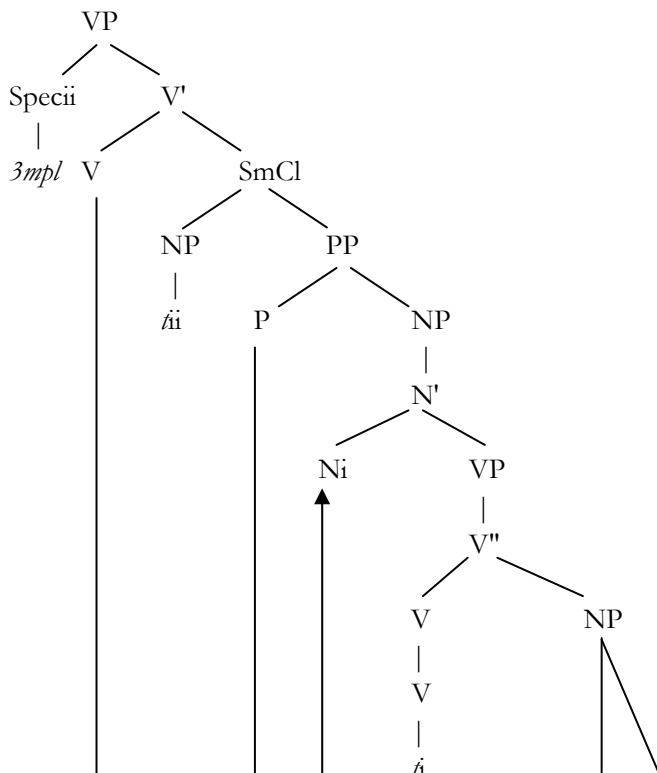
left to right: ‌ܢܗܘܘܢ   ܡܢ   ܐܟܠܝ   ܦܬܘܪܟ
                    [they] shall-be   from   eaters-of   table-your
                    "[But show kindness to the sons of Barzillai...] and let them be of those that eat
                    at thy table"

Example 6.

5. THE POSSIBILITY OF REANALYSIS

When no nominal nodes occurring between the participle and the main verbal node are lexically filled and the main verbal node is either empty (the "Ø-copula") or filled by a form of "to be," then the participle can function either as a part of the predicate complement or as the main verb, with or without the presence of the verb "to be." That there can be a choice between the two options is due to the possibility that a syntactic structure can undergo reanalysis. Reanalysis takes place as a language changes through time, one of the dynamic principles behind language change.[16] As illustration, let us compare two Hebrew examples:

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[16] For the possibility of reanalysis of Hebrew participles, see Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 136–40.

Gen 1:6 ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים

lit.: "and it shall be a division between water and water" (without reanalysis)

or: "and it shall be dividing between water and water" (with reanalysis)

Isa 59:2 כי אם־עונתיכם היו מבדלים בינכם לבין אלהיכם

lit.: "but your sins were dividing between you and your God" (with reanalysis)

While in Gen 1:6 traditionally the translation without reanalysis has been chosen, in Isa 59:2 the translation without reanalysis is not to be expected in a translation of this verse ("your sins were a division between ..."). Considering how the participle, with or without the copula, came to function as the main predication in post-biblical texts, it is not surprising to note this process already going on within the Old Testament. The point here is that both structures are treated with the same analytical procedure and the interpretation or reinterpretation of the same formal elements is assumed to belong to the dimension of diachronic development.

Returning to Syriac, we consider the broader context of 1 Kgs 1:1 already discussed above:

1 Kgs 1:1
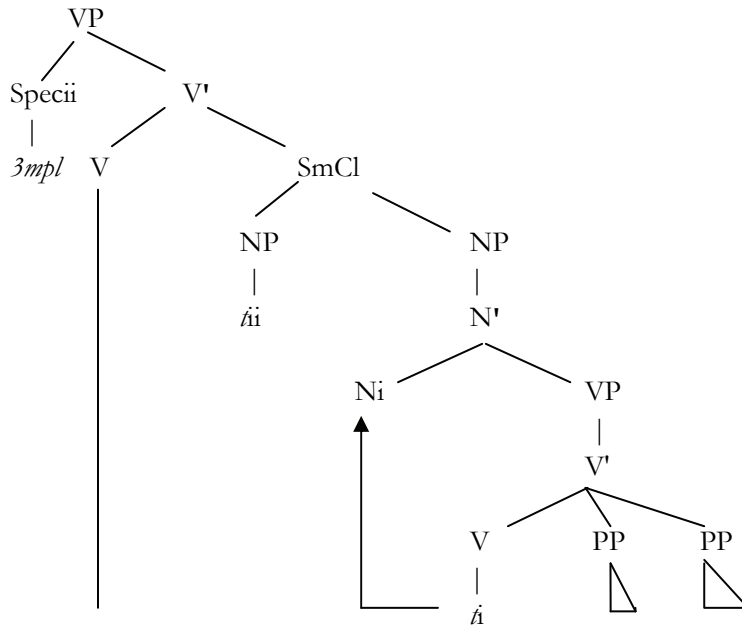
left to right:

ܗܘܘ [they] were ܡܟܣܝܢ covering ܠܗ him ܒܠܒܘܫܐ with garments

"they covered / were covering him with garments"

Example 7.

With no lexically filled node between the participle and the main verb, and with the main verb being the copula, the participle has no syntactic barriers to being able to function as the main predication, together with the copula.

The same can occur with a passive participle, as can be seen in Example 8.

1 Kgs 11:29
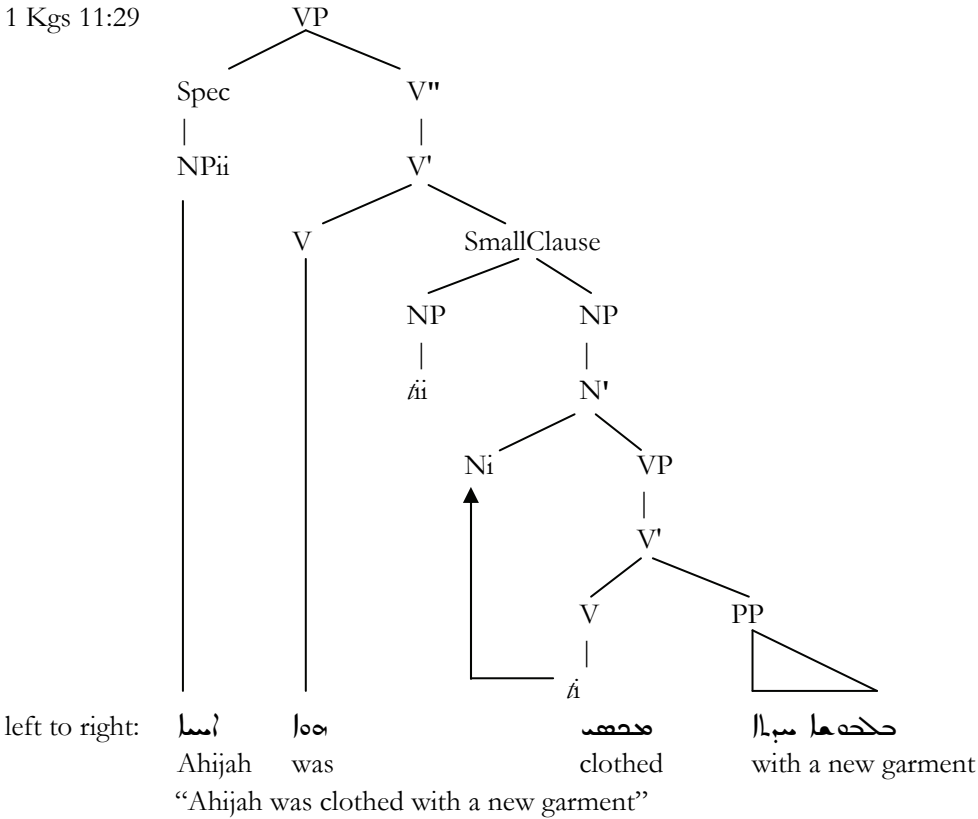
Example 8.

The passive participle structure in 1 Kgs 11:29 has one less element governed verbally by the participle (that is, "him" in 1 Kgs 1:1), as is often the case with passive participles, since by nature the grammatical subject of the passive participle is the one undergoing the action of the verb. However, this does not mean that the passive participle should now be entered in the lexicon as belonging to another part of speech.

Because all participles have the potential to function as a verb, noun, adjective, or adverb, depending on the syntactic environment, it would appear to be consistent and straightforward to acknowledge this characteristic of the language system instead of trying to press these forms into a single, pre-defined function in the lexicon.

6. COMMENTS BY GRAMMARIANS

Considering the remarks of grammarians on this issue, it seems there is some support for this approach, that is, that passive participles should be treated as part of the verbal paradigm, including in the entries in the lexicon. Muraoka gives examples where passive forms are active in their significance:

> One often comes across what is passive in form only, but active in meaning: e.g. … Mk. 14.13 ܫܩܝܠ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ "a man carrying a water container" (i.e., having picked up ... and carrying). … The resultative force is apparent in intransitive verbs which, by definition, are not capable of having genuine passive forms: Spic. 43.7 ܡܗܠܟܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ "I have walked in instruction." In a case like the following, however, we have the usual passive participle: Mt. 9.2 ܫܒܝܩܝܢ ܠܟ ܚܛܗܝܟ "your sins have been forgiven you."[17]

Nöldeke assigns a particular nuance of tense to the passive participle, by no means robbing it of its verbal status:

> *The Passive Participle* expresses the completion of an action, and stands as a predicate instead of the Perfect, just as the Active Participle does instead of the Imperfect: ܒܗܝ ܚܐܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܒܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ … "in that liberty which has been given them by God (=ܐܠܗܐ)" Spic. 13, 17 ... what we have in all such cases is the true, result-announcing *Perfect*:—as a *narrative* tense this participle hardly ever appears.

Thus with ܗܘܐ a kind of Pluperfect is formed, that is, the statement of a result reached already in the Past: ܡܛܝܒ ܗܘܐ "had been got ready" Ov. 172,22.[18]

Nöldeke also gives examples of participles passive in form but active in meaning:

> ܟܐܢܐ ܣܡܝܟ ܥܠܝܗ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ "the righteous support the earth" Aphr. 457, 8; … ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܥܠܗ ܣܡܝܟ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܛܝܪܘܬܗ "and had not the protection of God embraced the world" Jos. St. 4,14 … These words, however, may also be used in a true passive sense, *e.g.* ܣܡܝܟ "taken"; ܢܓܝܕ "pulled, torn away".[19]

There is a point when certain forms become fossilized in a particular function, and this can also lead to a shift in vocalization. Once a form has shifted away from the vocalization as a participle and has assumed a separate vocalization as adjective or noun, it is no longer a part of the verbal paradigm and should be treated as the particular form it manifests. It would seem that in his comments on "participles used as nouns," Nöldeke fails to distinguish participial forms having a nominal function from forms which have become fossilized as nouns and have assumed a different vocalization pattern. In the list which he provides as forms which have "become nouns completely," Nöldeke enumerates:

> ܪܚܡܐ "friend", ܪܥܝܐ "shepherd", ܥܡܘܪܝܐ "place of habitation", ܥܡܘܕܐ "pillar", ܦܪܚܬܐ "bird", ܥܣܒܐ "herb".[20]

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[17] Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, 67 (§84).

[18] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 218–19 (§278).

[19] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 220–21 (§280).

[20] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 221 (§281).

A number of different types of data are included in this list. One formally differentiating criterion is that nouns have inherent gender while participles and adjectives have derived gender, which is therefore variable. If we compare the forms in Nöldeke's list with the entries in *Thesaurus Syriacus* we find:

ܪܚܡܐ "friend" is listed in *Thesaurus Syriacus* under the verb as one of the meanings of the active participle, having variable gender;

ܪܥܐ "shepherd" is listed in *Thesaurus Syriacus* both separately as a noun (with a note "= act. part. emph. st. m.") and as a participial form of the verb, both the noun entry and the participial forms are listed with variable gender;

ܥܡܪܬܐ "place of habitation" is listed in *Thesaurus Syriacus* as a separate feminine noun with vocalization which is not consistent with the participle; on the other hand, ܥܡܪ "dweller; inhabitant" is listed both as a separate noun (with note "part. emph. = subst.") and as a participial form by the verb, both with variable gender;

ܥܡܘܕܐ "pillar," ܨܦܪܐ "bird," ܥܣܒܐ "herb" are listed in *Thesaurus Syriacus* as feminine nouns with vocalization deviating from that of the regular feminine participle; the gender is fixed, not variable as with a participle.

Thus various types of phenomena are here swept onto one heap. Where a form has assumed a vocalization pattern other than that of the participle, we are dealing with an independent nominal or adjectival form, but where that is not the case, it is unnecessary to deny these their participial verbal status since all participles have the potential to function as nouns or adjectives, depending on the syntactic context in which they appear.

7. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the systematic functioning of the participles—both active and passive—within the syntax of the language, I propose that participles be presented in the lexicon under the verb to which they belong. Separate entries for their other functions could be given as an aid to the beginning student ("user friendliness"), but it should be made clear that the form is in fact a participle of a given verb, though its function in a given case is as indicated in that specific instance for a particular syntactic environment.

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CHAPTER 4
THE PARTICLES ܓܝܪ AND ܕܝܢ IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC: SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS

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Reconsideration of the taxonomy, parts of speech, and the syntactic and semantic analysis underlying many individual lexemes in existing Syriac lexica will be basic to the making of a new Syriac lexicon. This paper will address some questions related to the particles ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in Classical Syriac. It will argue that a syntactic analysis of these particles can go beyond the general observation that they usually come after the first word of the clause. Defining the rule for the position of these particles more precisely decreases the number of exceptions to the rule considerably. The parallels with the syntactic behaviour of Greek γάρ and δέ, too, can be described more precisely than in terms of "after the first word." As for the semantic analysis of these particles, it will show that the formal and syntactical equivalence of Syriac ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ and Greek γάρ and δέ should not lead to the assumption that they are also semantic and functional equivalents, an assumption that is pervasive not only in Syriac grammars and dictionaries, but also in modern editions of the Greek New Testament.

> *A mere particle? Yet a "for" can condemn*
> *or free, histories are linked by an "and,"*
> *stories turn on a "then" or a "therefore;"*
> *as for a "but," it's a wrecker's ball,*
> *a protest, a boundary, a bridge,*
> *a gate to a different beginning.*

Terry Falla

1. INTRODUCTION

The present contribution deals with the Syriac particles ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ. It is useful to study them together because they share some characteristics of syntactic behaviour, and also because of the similar ways they have been treated in Syriac grammars and lexica. The study begins by reviewing the syntactic relationship between the two Syriac particles and the Greek

γάρ and δέ respectively. It then examines from a semantic perspective the Syriac particles as Syriac terms employed by Syriac translators in Classical Syriac literature. Accordingly, the particles are studied not only as elements in a translation of an underlying Greek text, but also in their own right in their own textual contexts.

2. METHODOLOGY

To ensure that the sample text is sufficiently large to yield fruitful and testable results, but not unmanageable for the scope of this essay, we have adopted as a base the text of the Peshitta New Testament for the analysis in section three (Syntax), and the Peshitta text of the Four Gospels and of the Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, for the analysis in section four (Semantics), though the latter analysis does extend to many examples outside the Gospels and Pastoral Epistles. Unless it is indicated otherwise, references to the Syriac text are to the Peshitta New Testament.

Where it is indicated, the Peshitta has been compared with the two extant versions of the Old Syriac, the Curetonian and the Sinaitic. Where it is necessary to distinguish the versions from each other, they are respectively referred to by the abbreviations Syr[p], Syr[c], and Syr[s]. Square brackets indicate that the Old Syriac Version they enclose is not extant. Thus Syr[c]s|p indicates that the Curetonian version is not extant for the reference that it distinguishes, and Syr[c]p indicates that the reading in question is to be found only in the Peshitta, but that we should note that the Curetonian version is not extant and so cannot be checked. In addition to the texts of F.C. Burkitt for the Curetonian version[1] and Agnes Smith Lewis for the Sinaitic version,[2] we have employed George Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*,[3] and Jerome Lund's concordance to the Old Syriac Gospels.[4]

A proper semantic analysis of Syriac New Testament vocables, be they verbs, nouns, adjectives, or particles, requires a detailed consideration of the Greek underlying the Syriac. The text taken as the basis of the Greek New Testament is the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland (NA[27]).[5]

In numerous instances, the Greek term underlying a Syriac term is to be found only in a variant Greek reading cited in the critical apparatus of NA[27], in Aland's *Vollständige Konkordanz*, or in one or another of the critical editions of the Greek New Testament (Bover,[6] IGNTP [International Greek New Testament Project],[7] Legg,[8] Merk,[9]

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[1] Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. 1.

[2] Lewis, *Old Syriac Gospels*.

[3] Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*.

[4] Lund, *The Old Syriac Gospel of the Distinct Evangelists*.

[5] Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

[6] Bover, *Biblia Graeca et Latina*.

[7] IGNTP, *Luke*.

[8] Legg, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*; Legg, *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*.

[9] Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*.

Tischendorf,[10] Tregelles,[11] Aland's *SFG*,[12] Aland's *SQE*,[13] the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*,[14] Vogels,[15] and Von Soden[16]).[17] Often it is impossible to know which of two or more Greek readings may have been in the Syriac translators' text. All such readings have been taken into account. This exhaustive approach is important if we are to gain a proper estimate of the relationship between the Syriac ܓܝܪ and the Greek γάρ and the Syriac ܕܝܢ and the Greek δέ.

The methodology adopted for the evaluation of variant Greek readings is the same as in Terry Falla's *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels* (KPG). There are two criteria. The first is that only extant variant Greek readings are considered as potential corresponding terms. Presumed retroversions of Peshitta and Old Syriac renderings such as we find in the critical apparatus of Hermann von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* are not included. The second criterion is that a variant Greek reading is considered only when it can be demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of the relevant data that its Syriac parallel is, in the context in which it occurs, conceivable as its translation. Accordingly, it is not the nature or extent of Greek manuscript evidence that is used as a criterion, but whether the term in the receptor language is conceivable as a rendering of the variant reading in the source text.[18]

To provide an accurate estimate of the relationship between the Syriac and the Greek underlying it, it is important to analyze the Syriac correspondences of the Greek γάρ and δέ as well as the Greek underlying the Syriac ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ. If this were not done, the analysis would reveal only one side of the relationship between the source and target texts and the resulting data would be distorted.

The statistics cited in this essay are based on the critical and concordantially exhaustive analysis provided by KPG for the Peshitta Gospels. For the Peshitta Pastoral Epistles they are based on a critical comparison of all occurrences of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in George Kiraz, *A Computer-Generated Concordance to the Syriac New Testament* with the Greek underlying them.

Two final methodological observations are called for regarding the semantic analysis. The first is that each Syriac book has been studied as a separate entity as well as part of the prescribed corpus. The second is that ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ have been studied independently of the Greek, as well as compared with it. On the one hand, this is to avoid inappropriately skewing the Syriac towards the Greek, and, on the other, to seek to do justice to the nuances of the target text.

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[10] Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1.

[11] Tregelles, *Greek New Testament.*

[12] Aland, *Synopsis of the Four Gospels.*

[13] Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum.*

[14] Aland et al., eds. *Greek New Testament.*

[15] Vogels, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latina.*

[16] Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.*

[17] For an annotated list of most of these editions see Falla, KPG, 1:XXIX–XXXII.

[18] Falla, KPG, 1:XXXII.

3. SYNTAX: PART OF SPEECH

Most grammars and dictionaries call ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ "conjunctions." Thus ܓܝܪ is a conjunction according to Brockelmann, Costaz, Falla, and Ferrer and Nogueras.[19] It is called a "causal conjunction" in the *Thesaurus Syriacus* and J. Payne Smith's *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (CSD).[20] With ܕܝܢ there is greater variation. Brockelmann and Ferrer and Nogueras call it a "conjunction," but Falla calls it a "conjunctive particle;" Duval mentions it under "adverbes de temps" and Costaz under "les adverbes."[21] Nöldeke speaks of "anreihende Adverbia."[22]

It is true that both ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ can be used to mark the relationship between clauses and fulfil discourse functions, but they should not be called conjunctions without qualification, because they also have a function *within* the clause that is adverbial rather than conjunctive. A fundamental difference between conjunctions and other markers of clause relations such as connective or conjunctive adverbs concerns the relation of the word to the clause. A conjunction serves to indicate a connection between clauses, but is not part of one of them. It is not *satzgliedfähig*.[23] Because of the fixed syntactic rules that determine the position of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ within the clause, we treat them as part of the clause in which they occur, as well as elements connecting one clause to another. In other words, we recognize that ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ have two different functions at the same time in the hierarchy of the grammatical structure to which they belong, one within a clause and the other between clauses. In summary, in their function between clauses they may be accurately classified as conjunctions and in their function within clauses, as adverbs.

As the following examples demonstrate, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ can occur in sentences that begin with another particle that is purely conjunctive in that, unlike ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ, it does not operate as a building block within the clause but only between clauses. This is another reason not to call ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ conjunctions, but to use a term that recognizes their dual syntactic functions and that distinguishes them from the conjunction that precedes them in the same clause. Thus we find with ܓܝܪ:

ܐܢ ܓܝܪ ܡܚܒܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܒܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢܐ ܐܓܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ، ܠܐ ܗܐ ܐܦ ܡܟܣܐ ܗܝ ܟܕ ܗܝ ܥܒܕܝܢ؟ Mt 5:46
If you love those who love you, what reward is there for you?

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[19] Brockelmann, *Grammatik*, §165; Costaz, *Grammaire*, §496; Falla, KPG 1:110; Ferrer–Nogueras, *Diccionario*, 45.

[20] *Thesaurus Syriacus* 1:709; CSD, 69a.

[21] Brockelmann, *Grammatik*, §165; Ferrer–Nogueras, *Diccionario*, 55; Falla, KPG 1:127; Duval *Traité*, §294:2; Costaz, *Grammaire*, §492.

[22] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §155C. The English translation of Nöldeke's grammar by Crichton has "connective adverbs."

[23] *Metzler Lexicon Sprache* 324–25 s.v. *Konjunction*; compare what we find in the same lexicon under *Konjunktionaladverb*: "Bisweilen zu den Konjunktionen gerechnete Subklasse der Wortart Adverb. K. gleichen in semant. Hinsicht den Konjunktionen, verhalten sich in syntakt. Hinsicht aber wie Adverbien, z.B. *daher, darum, deshalb, folglich, trotzdem*."

ܐܳܘ ܓܶܝܪ ܠܚܰܕ ܢܶܣܢܶܐ ܘܠܰܐܚܪܺܢܐ ܢܰܚܶܒ. ܐܳܘ ܠܚܰܕ ܢܝܰܩܰܪ. ܘܠܰܐܚܪܺܢܐ ܢܫܽܘܛ Mt 6:24

Either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will honour the one and despise the other.

and with ܕܶܝܢ:

ܟܰܕ ܕܶܝܢ ܐܶܬܺܝܠܶܕ ܝܶܫܽܘܥ ܒܒܶܝܬ ܠܚܶܡ ܕܺܝܗܽܘܕܐ. ܒܝܰܘܡܰܝ ܗܶܪܳܘܕܶܣ ܡܰܠܟܐ Mt 2:1

After Jesus was born in Bethlehem in Judaea, during the time of King Herod

ܐܶܢ ܕܶܝܢ ܥܰܝܢܳܟ ܕܝܰܡܝܢܐ ܡܰܟܫܠܐ ܠܳܟ. ܚܨܺܝܗ̇ Mt 5:29

If your right eye causes you to sin, gouge it out.

In these cases the function of ܡܶܢ or ܕܶܝܢ differs from that of the conjunction in the initial position. Let us look at another example in more detail. In 1 Tim 4:16 we find that ܓܶܝܪ and ܡܶܢ link Clause 3 to different things: ܓܶܝܪ to Clause 4 in a temporal or consequential relation; and ܡܶܢ to the preceding lines:[24]

ܐܶܬܒܰܩܐ ܒܢܰܦܫܳܟ ܘܰܒܝܽܘܠܦܳܢܳܟ (1)	Keep watch on yourself and on your teaching
ܘܚܰܡܣܶܢ ܒܗܽܘܢ (2)	and persevere in them;
ܟܰܕ ܗܳܠܶܝܢ ܡܶܢ ܥܳܒܶܕ ܐܰܢ̱ܬ (3)	for when you do these things
ܢܰܦܫܳܟ ܬܰܚܐ ܘܠܰܐܝܠܶܝܢ ܕܫܳܡܥܺܝܢ ܠܳܟ (4)	you will save yourself and those who hear you

We prefer to take ܓܶܝܪ as a conjunction and ܡܶܢ as a "conjunctive adverb," and employ the latter term for both ܡܶܢ and ܕܶܝܢ. "Adverb" is more definitive than "particle" in the term "conjunctive particle."[25] Furthermore, the combination "conjunctive adverb" accurately represents the dual functions of both ܡܶܢ and ܕܶܝܢ, "conjunctive" referring to their function between clauses and "adverb" to their function within a clause. Other terminology used for these types of words includes "connective adverb,"[26] "connective particles,"[27] "cue phrases,"[28] or "discourse connectives."[29]

3.1 Syntactic Behaviour: Position in the Clause

Both ܡܶܢ and ܕܶܝܢ follow strict rules that determine their position in the clause. In the present description we will try to define this position as precisely as possible and go beyond general statements that are found in the standard grammars.

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[24] For similar phenomena in English compare Webber et al., "Anaphora and Discourse Structure," 545–87 (we are grateful to A. Dean Forbes for this reference). See also below, §4.4.1.

[25] As we have seen, Falla calls ܕܶܝܢ a "conjunctive particle" in his KPG.

[26] This terminology occurs in Crichton's English translation of Nöldeke's grammar (see above, note 22).

[27] Denniston uses "connective particles" for the Greek particles γάρ and δέ; Denniston, *Particles*, xliii et passim. Note also his remark on the adverbial background of these particles: γάρ and δέ "cannot be traced back to an adverbial stage … But it is on general grounds probable" (ibid., xliii).

[28] Knott–Mellish, "Sentence and Clause Connectives," 148.

[29] Webber et al., "Anaphora and Discourse Structure," 546.

3.1.1 ܗܟܝܠ and ܕܝܢ Follow the First *Phrase Atom* of the Clause

Nöldeke says in his grammar about particles like ܗܟܝܠ and ܕܝܢ that "their proper place is immediately after the first word yet they may also take the place farther on."[30] Studies that try to go beyond such general statements often provide lists of exceptions in which ܗܟܝܠ and/or ܕܝܢ do not follow the first word.[31] Although such lists may be very helpful and accurate, we think that a more precise description of the position of ܗܟܝܠ and ܕܝܢ—reducing the number of "exceptions"—is possible if we work with the concept of "phrase atom" or "minimum unit." We define phrase atoms as the smallest indivisible units of a phrase, that is, those elements that cannot be subdivided into smaller units.[32] They are those building blocks of a phrase that can appear in isolation. Thus whereas ܡܠܐܟܐ in the phrase ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ (Mt 28:2) is a phrase atom, the construct noun ܘܓܝܬ in ܘܓܝܬ ܟܗܢܐ (Mt 26:59 and elsewhere) is not. It appears that ܗܟܝܠ and ܕܝܢ prefer the position in the clause after the first phrase atom of a clause, rather than after the first word. Thus if the first phrase atom consists of more than one word, ܗܟܝܠ and ܕܝܢ do not intervene, as appears from the following examples:[33]

(a) First phrase atom = Preposition + Preposition + Noun

Mt 19:8 ܡܢ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܕܝܢ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܢܐ
But it was not this way from the beginning

(b) First phrase atom = Construct Noun + Noun

Mt 26:59 ܘܓܝܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܩܫܝܫܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܟܢܫܐ
The chief priests and the elders and the whole Sanhedrin

(c) First phrase atom = Preposition + Construct Noun + Noun

Mt 12:34 ܡܢ ܬܘܬܪܝ ܠܒܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܡܠܠ ܦܘܡܐ
For out of the overflow of the heart the mouth speaks

(d) First phrase atom = Construct Noun + Construct Noun + Noun

Heb 5:1 ܟܠ ܪܒ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ
Every high priest who comes from among men

The same syntactical behaviour occurs with distributive repetition of nouns:[34]

1 Cor 12:7 ܠܐܢܫ ܐܢܫ ܕܝܢ. ܡܬܝܗܒܐ ܠܗ ܓܠܝܢܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ
But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to each one[35]

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[30] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §327; quotation from Crichton's translation.

[31] Thus, for example, Kuty, "Particle *dēn*," 186.

[32] Cf. Talstra–Sikkel, "WIVU-Datenbank," 48: "Mit diesem Begriff werden zwei Sachverhalte gekennzeichnet: zum einen sind Atome auf ihrer linguistischen Ebene nicht weiter teilbar; zum anderen sind sie—einzeln oder in Kombination—Bausteine höherer funktionaler Einheiten." See also Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, §9.1.

[33] See also Mt 1:12; 12:50, quoted below.

[34] Cf. Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §202C, 240.

[35] See also the example from Eph 4:7 quoted below, in §3.1.2(e).

Only in exceptional cases does the particle come directly after a noun in the construct state, that is, inside a phrase atom. Nöldeke gives the following example:

Joseph and Asenath 22:13 ܒ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܠܗܐ

Now the sons of Bilha[36]

In our corpus we do not find a case like this with a construct noun. But sometimes ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ occur between a preposition and the noun they govern:

Mt 14:9 ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܘܣܡܝܟ̈ܐ. ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ

But because of his oath and his dinner guests he commanded it to be given her

Mt 25:19 ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܐܬܐ ܡܪܗܘܢ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܗܢܘܢ

After a long time the master of those servants returned

In other cases it intervenes in compound prepositions:

Rom 5:13 ܥܕܡܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ. ܚܛܝܬܐ ܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ

For before the law, when sin was in the world

3.1.2 ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ Precede Specifications

Phrases can be much longer than the "minimal units" defined in the preceding section. They can take all kinds of specifications which are—at least syntactically—not obligatory, like adjectives, appositions, or genitive constructions with ܕ. If the first phrase atom of a clause takes one or more specifications, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ come directly after that phrase atom. Thus they occur in the following positions:

(a)(i) Before an adjective:

Mt 7:17 ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܦܐ̈ܪܐ ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܥܒܕ

But a bad tree bears bad fruit

Mt 13:38 ܙܪܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܛܒܐ. ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ

The good seed stands for the sons of the kingdom

(ii) In the exceptional cases where the adjective precedes the noun, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ come between the adjective and the noun:

Mt 19:30 ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ ܕܝܢ ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ. ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܐ̱ܚܪ̈ܝܐ

But many who are the first will be the last

(b)(i) Before an apposition:

Mt 26:58 ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܬܪܗ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ

But Simon Cephas followed him at a distance

Phil 4:20 ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܒܘܢ. ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ

To God our Father be praise and glory for ever and ever

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[36] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §208, edition: Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* III, 39, 16.

(ii) Before an apposition with numerals:

Lk 16:28 ܡܛܠ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܚܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܡܫܐ

For I have five brothers

(c)(i) Before a demonstrative:

Mt 6:32 ܟܠܗܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܗܠܝܢ. ܥܡܡܐ ܗܘ ܒܥܝܢ ܠܗܝܢ

For after all these things the Gentiles seek

Lk 12:56 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܦܪܫܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ

How is it that you don't know how to interpret this present time?

(ii) Also, when the demonstrative precedes the noun, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ come between the demonstrative and the noun:

Mt 13:1 ܒܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܢܦܩ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ

That same day Jesus went out of the house

Mt 17:21 ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܢܣܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ. ܐܠܐ ܒܨܘܡܐ ܘܒܨܠܘܬܐ

But this kind does not go out except by fasting and prayer

(d) Before a "genitive" with ܕ:

Mt 1:18 ܝܠܕܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ

The birth of Jesus Christ happened as follows

Mt 28:2 ܡܠܐܟܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܢܚܬ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ

For an angel of the Lord came down from heaven

(e)(i) Before a prepositional phrase modifying a noun:

Mt 9:3 ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܒܢܦܫܗܘܢ

Some of the scribes said to themselves

Mk 14:47 ܚܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ. ܫܡܛ ܣܝܦܐ

One of those standing near drew a sword

(ii) However, we find also cases where the ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ follow the prepositional phrase:

Lk 24:1 ܒܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܥܕ ܚܫܘܟ. ܐܬܝ ܠܒܝܬ ܩܒܘܪܐ.

On the first day of the week, early in the morning while it was still dark, they went to the tomb[37]

Eph 4:7 ܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܢ ܒܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܐܬܝܗܒܬ

But unto every one of us is given goodness[38]

(f) Before relative clause:[39]

Mt 7:2 ܒܕܝܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܕܝܢܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܬܬܕܝܢܘܢ

For with what judgment you judge, you will be judged

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[37] Similarly Jn 20:4; contrast Mt 28:1 ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܒܬܐ.

[38] On the distributive repetition of ܚܕ see above on 1 Cor 12:7, §3.1.1(d).

[39] Contrast those cases where ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ appear within the relative clause discussed below, in §3.1.3.

ܡܶܕܶܡ ܕܶܝܢ ܕܢܳܦܶܩ ܡܶܢ ܦܽܘܡܳܐ ܢܳܦܶܩ. ܡܶܢ ܠܶܒܳܐ ܢܳܦܶܩ Mt 15:18
But the things that come out of the mouth come from the heart

(g) Between an adjective and its modifier:

ܟܡܳܐ ܕܶܝܢ ܝܰܬܺܝܪ ܡܺܝܬܰܪ ܒܰܪܢܳܫܳܐ ܡܶܢ ܥܶܪܒܳܐ. Mt 12:12
How much more valuable is a man than a sheep!

(h) Between a noun or pronoun and its coreferential pronoun in the Pronominal Agreement construction:[40]

ܘܳܝ ܠܶܗ ܕܶܝܢ ܠܓܰܒܪܳܐ. ܗܰܘ Mt 26:24
But woe to that man

ܒܶܗ ܕܶܝܢ ܒܒܰܝܬܳܐ ܗܘܰܘ Lk 10:7
Stay in that house

(i) Obviously, combinations of the categories mentioned above occur as well. In other words, if the phrase atom takes two or more specifications, this does not affect the position of ܓܶܝܪ and ܕܶܝܢ after the first phrase atom:

ܓܰܒܪܳܐ ܕܶܝܢ ܚܰܕ ܥܰܬܺܝܪܳܐ ܐܺܝܬ ܗܘܳܐ Lk 16:19
There was a rich man

3.1.3 Complex and Embedded Structures

In the preceding sections we defined the position of ܓܶܝܪ and ܕܶܝܢ in relation to the *clause*. A clause is any construction in which predication occurs. In many cases sentences consist of structures in which predication occurs more than once and compound or complex sentences are created. However, the rules described above still apply in these cases. Thus ܓܶܝܪ or ܕܶܝܢ may take the second position in an embedded clause:

ܡܰܢ ܕܨܳܒܶܐ ܓܶܝܪ ܕܢܰܦܫܶܗ ܢܰܚܶܐ ܢܰܘܒܕܺܝܗ Mt 16:25
For whoever wants to save his life, will lose it

ܡܰܢ ܕܺܐܝܬ ܠܶܗ ܓܶܝܪ. ܢܶܬܺܝܗܶܒ ܠܶܗ Mk 4:25
For whoever has, to him will be given[41]

In these cases ܓܶܝܪ and ܕܶܝܢ take the second position in the clause introduced by ܕ. Contrast the cases where ܓܶܝܪ and ܕܶܝܢ take the second position in the main clause and, as a consequence, precede ܕ, given above, §3.1.2(f).

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[40] Pronominal agreement is "a construction where a noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an adjoining relational particle is accompanied in the same clause by a coreferential pronoun agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation." Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*, xxvi.

[41] On ܠܶܗ preceding ܓܶܝܪ see below §3.1.4.

In cases of extraposition "the second slot" can be defined in relation to the extraposed element and in relation to the main clause. In the following examples ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ come after the first phrase atom of the extraposed element:[42]

ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܡܫ܂ ܐܝܬܝ ܒܝܢܬܟܘܢ܂ Lk 22:27
But I am among you as one who serves

ܠܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ܂ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܪܒܐ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ Jn 5:36
I have testimony weightier than that of John

Illuminating is a case like

ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܓܒܪܐ 1 Cor 11:7
But the woman is the glory of man

ܕܝܢ follows the extraposed element; ܗܝ, which also prefers the second position in the clause,[43] has the second position in the main clause.

3.1.4 ܓܝܪ, ܕܝܢ, and Other Elements Preferring the Second Position in the Clause

The particles ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ are not the only linguistic elements that prefer the slot after the first phrase atom. The same applies to the enclitic personal pronoun (= e.p.p.), the enclitic ܗܘܐ, and ܠ + suffix pronoun. Some of these elements may occur together. Even if the noun phrase in first position takes a specification, two elements may intervene:

ܪܝܚܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܓܝܪ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܚܢܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ 2 Cor 2:15
For we are to God a pleasant odour through Christ

ܠܝܗܘܒܐ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܚܕܝܐ ܪܚܡ ܐܠܗܐ 2 Cor 9:7
For God loves a cheerful giver

If two or three of these elements preferring the second slot occur together, they occur in a fixed order. Thus we find the following combinations:

(a)(i) The e.p.p. and ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ occur together. In this case the enclitic comes first:

ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܡܢ ܗܝܡܢܬ 2 Tim 1:12
Because I know whom I have believed

ܙܕܩ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܩܫܝܫܐ܂ ܕܠܐ ܪܫܝܢ ܢܗܘܐ Titus 1:7
An elder must be blameless

(ii) With two e.p.p.'s we find:

ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܠܐ ܥܡܪ ܒܝ ... ܛܒܬܐ Rom 7:18
I know that nothing good lives in me

ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘ ܡܣܝܒܪܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܚܣܝܪܝ ܪܥܝܢܐ 2 Cor 11:19
You gladly put up with fools!

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[42] Cf. also Mt 16:25, quoted above, and Mt 6:32 (§3.1.2[c]); 13:38 (§3.1.2[a]); and Lk 12:56 (§3.1.2[c]).

[43] See below, §3.1.4.

(b) Enclitic ܗܘܐ and ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ occur together. Here, too, the enclitic element precedes ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ:

Mt 4:18 ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ̈ ܗܘܘ ܓܝܪ ܨܝܕܐ̈

For they were fishermen

Mk 6:18 ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ

Because John said to Herod

The position of the e.p.p. and enclitic ܗܘܐ before ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ is easily understandable in the light of the tight connection between an enclitic element and what precedes it.

(c)(i) A small prepositional phrase and ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ occur together. If the prepositional phrase consists of -ܠ + suffix pronoun, it precedes ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ:

Mt 2:20 ܡܝܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ

For they are dead which sought the young child's life

Mt 13:15 ܐܬܥܒܝ ܠܗ ܓܝܪ ܠܒܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ

For this people's heart has become hardened

(ii) We have found only one exception in:

Lk 22:18 ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܟܘܢ

For I say to you

The phenomenon mentioned under (i) is unusual with other prepositions like ܠܘܬ, ܥܠ, or even ܒ. Thus we find:

Mk 10:27 ܚܪ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ. ܘܐܡܪ

Jesus looked at them and said

Lk 23:15 ܫܕܪܗ ܓܝܪ ܠܘܬܗ

For he sent him back to him

There is one exception where ܒ + suffix pronoun precedes ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ:[44]

1 Tim 1:14 ܣܓܝܬ ܒܝ ܕܝܢ. ܛܝܒܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ

For the goodness of our Lord was abundant to me

Nor does the prepositional phrase precede ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ if ܠ takes a noun:

Lk 7:5 ܪܚܡ ܓܝܪ ܠܥܡܢ

Because he loves our people

Mk 13:9 ܢܫܠܡܘܢܟܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܠܕܝܢܐ̈

You will be handed over to the judges

If our point of departure is the question "In what cases do ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ not come in second position?" such cases belong to the exceptions. However, in taking a broader approach and

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[44] It would be worthwhile looking for a possible correlation between the "weight" of the suffix and the word order. Here we have a very light suffix; contrast the independent syllable in ܗܘܢ in Mk 10:27, quoted above.

starting from the question: "What elements prefer to occupy the second position in the clause, and what happens if more than one of them occur together?" there is no longer a need to treat the examples quoted as exceptions. Various linguistic elements prefer the second slot in a clause. If they occur together, they follow an established order. In the preceding paragraph we have seen what the order is when two of these elements occur together, one of them being ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ: the e.p.p., enclitic ܗܘܐ and ܠ + suffix pronoun precede ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ. In other cases, all three elements (e.p.p. or enclitic ܗܘܐ + ܠ + pronoun + ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ) occur together. In these cases, too, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ follow the other elements. The enclitic comes first, preceding the prepositional phrase, for example:

Mt 3:9; 5:20; 12:36; 18:10 ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܓܝܪ

Mt 6:29; 8:11; 12:6; 18:10 ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܝܢ

Similarly with an enclitic form of ܗܘܐ:

Mt 7:29 ܡܠܦ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܠܛܐ
Because he taught as one who had authority

Again, other prepositions with pronominal suffixes or ܠ + Noun do not precede ܓܝܪ or ܕܝܢ:

Mk 9:31 ܡܠܦ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ
Because he was teaching his disciples

Rom 10:2 ܡܣܗܕ ܐܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ
For I testify about them

If a clause is introduced by a conjunction, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ sometimes come directly after the conjunction:[45]

Mt 12:7 ܐܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ
If you had known

1 Cor 8:5 ܐܦ ܓܝܪ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ
For even if there are so-called gods

Contrast 1 Tim 5:8 ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܓܝܪ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܐܢܫ. ... ܠܐ ܝܨܦ
If anyone does not provide for his relatives

Kuty has demonstrated that in the Syriac New Testament, cases where ܐܢ introduces the clause take two different patterns: either ܕܝܢ retains the position it should have irrespective of the conjunction, or it is placed immediately after the conjunction. He discerns a tendency that ܕܝܢ retains the position when the preceding word is short (monosyllabic), but it is liable to take the slot directly after the conjunction when a longer word follows.[46]

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[45] See also the examples with ܐܢ, ܓܝܪ, and ܐܘ, quoted above, in §3 (end).
[46] Kuty, "Particle *dēn*," 194–95.

3.2 Comparison with Greek γάρ and δέ

In many Syriac grammars and dictionaries we find the observation that the preference of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ for the second position in the clause has its parallel in the use of Greek γάρ and δέ.[47] On the basis of our investigation we can refine this observation by noting that:

(a) The Greek particles γάρ and δέ, like ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ, do not necessarily come after the first word. If the first word of the clause constitutes an indivisible unit with the following word(s), both the Greek and Syriac particles under discussion usually occupy the place after, rather than within, that unit.

(b) The fact that ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ sometimes come directly after a conjunction is also paralleled by the behaviour of Greek γάρ and δέ, since both εἰ γάρ and εἰ δέ are well-attested.[48]

4. SEMANTICS

In our examination of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ we now turn from syntax to semantics. As Dean Forbes and Frank Andersen show in their research in Hebrew taxonomy, syntax, and discourse analysis, particles of an ancient language can be as complex to analyze as any other part of speech.[49] On the scale of syntactic and semantic significance, particles may not at first seem as important as nouns, verbs, and the ubiquitously troublesome adjective, but in reality they can be syntactically, semantically, and exegetically as significant.

This has not, however, been apparent in the lexical treatment of the semantics of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ. At its most limiting, this treatment has simply but inadequately glossed ܓܝܪ as "for," and ܕܝܢ as "but" (Goshen-Gottstein,[50] Jennings[51], Nöldeke,[52] Pazzini,[53] Whish[54]). Syriac-Latin lexica (Brockelmann, Köbert,[55] *Thesaurus Syriacus*) list two or three unreferenced Latin glosses, each of which is polysemous in meaning. But without detailed research on the part of the lexicon user it is not possible to know which of a range of meanings that Latin dictionaries assign to these glosses apply or do not apply to the Syriac particles. Some Syriac-

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[47] Thus, for example, Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 114b (s.v. ܓܝܪ), 151a (s.v. ܕܝܢ); idem, *Grammatik* §165. For the position in the clause of γάρ and δέ see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 56–114 and 162–203. Perhaps the Greek particles became only gradually post-positive; see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, lix, note 1; Wackernagel, "Gesetz," esp. 377.

[48] Cf., for example, Mt 12:7 εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε; Jn 5:46 εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσεῖ.

[49] Andersen, "Review Article and Responses," 64–66; Andersen, "Lo and Behold!" 25–56; Andersen–Forbes, "Problems in Taxonomy," 37–50; Andersen–Forbes, "What Kind of Taxonomy?"

[50] Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac-English Glossary*.

[51] Jennings, *Lexicon*.

[52] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 101, cites "ܓܝܪ as having the meaning 'for,' and ܕܝܢ as having the meaning (properly 'then'), 'but'."

[53] Pazzini, *Lessico Concordanziale*, has "infatti, poiché."

[54] Whish, *Clavis Syriaca*.

[55] Köbert, *Vocabularium Syriacum*.

English resources (Costaz, KPG, CSD, Thackston,[56] Thelly) and the Syriac-Spanish lexicon by Ferrer and Nogueras[57] are more generous in the range of glosses they assign, but with the exception of KPG they do not cite references or illustrative examples. A more detailed examination is therefore called for. This section begins this task by discussing the relationship between ܓܝܪ and γάρ and ܕܝܢ and δέ in Syriac grammars and lexica. It then examines the meanings of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in a limited but defined corpus and demonstrates the necessity of evaluating each occurrence of these particles in their syntactic context.

4.1 ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in Syriac Grammars, Lexica, and Critical Editions of the Greek New Testament

The Syriac ܓܝܪ and the Greek γάρ, and the Syriac ܕܝܢ and the Greek δέ have perhaps always been recognized as *formal* and *syntactical* equivalents (compare §3.2). But over and again, Syriac grammars and lexica promulgate the view that they are also *functional* and *semantic* equivalents. It is a perception that has continued from one generation to the next and that has helped to shape the way we understand the functions and meanings of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ. This is evident in some grammars and lexica from the nineteenth century to the present that treat either one or both of these Syriac particles as *Greek loanwords*, ܓܝܪ from γάρ and ܕܝܢ from δέ: ܓܝܪ Jennings, Whish;[58] both ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ Goshen-Gottstein, Nestle,[59] CSD, Pazzini, Phillips,[60] *Thesaurus Syriacus*.

For H.M. Harman (1885) the semantic equivalence between ܓܝܪ and γάρ on the one hand and δέ and ܕܝܢ on the other was apparently total, for he argued for a Greek text behind the Curetonian version of the Old Syriac Gospels based purely on the presence in that version of "ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ as the equivalents of γάρ and δέ."[61]

In some notable instances, ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ are *not* listed as though they were loanwords, but γάρ and δέ are *alone* listed as their respective equivalents (ܓܝܪ = γάρ Klein;[62] ܓܝܪ = γάρ and ܕܝܢ = δέ Brockelmann, Coakley's revision of Robinson,[63] Costaz, Nöldeke). These resources thus also contribute to the "virtual tradition of consensus among standard Syriac works"[64] that the Syriac ܓܝܪ is to be identified with the Greek γάρ and the Syriac ܕܝܢ with

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[56] Thackston, *Introduction to Syriac*.

[57] Ferrer–Nogueras, *Diccionario*.

[58] Whish, *Clavis Syriaca*, 11, does not list ܕܝܢ as a loanword in that he has the qualifying comment "ܕܝܢ, the same as the Gr. δέ, used in the same way and signification."

[59] Nestle, *Syriac Grammar*, 144, 147.

[60] Phillips, *Elements of Syriac Grammar*, 100–101.

[61] Harman, "Cureton's Fragments," 29–30.

[62] Klein, *Syrisch-Griechisches Wörterbuch*.

[63] Coakley, *Robinson's Paradigms*, 152.

[64] Falla, "Questions," 92.

the Greek δέ.[65] This perception is strengthened by comments such as we find in Nöldeke (1904) that "ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ are genuine Syriac words which, however, *have been employed almost entirely to imitate γάρ and δέ*" (emphasis added)[66] and in Coakley's revision of Robinson (2002) that ܓܝܪ is "like Greek γάρ" and ܕܝܢ "like Greek δέ." (KPG aside, Klein is the only resource that breaks this cycle. He is correct when he cites οὖν as a correspondence of ܕܝܢ ["ܕܝܢ οὖν"], but is misleading in that he makes it seem as if οὖν is the only correspondence in the corpus he treats.)

Other widely used grammars of this period and lexical works from Brockelmann to the present have similar comments. Phillips, for instance, has "ܓܝܪ γάρ *for*" and "ܕܝܢ δέ *but*," and Nestle "ܓܝܪ γάρ *for*" and "ܕܝܢ δέ, aber, nämlich; but, for." In the second volume of *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, Burkitt identifies ܕܝܢ with δέ in the telling bracketed notation "ܕܝܢ (i.e. δέ)."[67] For ܕܝܢ Brockelmann notes only one Greek equivalent, δέ, and for ܓܝܪ Klein cites only γάρ. Even Massimo Pazzini's most useful recent lexical work has the unqualified comment "Gr. γάρ" under ܓܝܪ,[68] and his entry on ܕܝܢ the comment, "Ha un uso simile al greco δέ."

The assumption of equivalence between the Syriac and the Greek also underlies the sometimes erroneous citation of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ as witnesses to γάρ and δέ in modern editions of the Greek New Testament, from Tischendorf (1869–1872) to Nestle-Aland (NA27, 1993). One of numerous examples is ܕܝܢ cited as a witness to δέ against οὖν—which is frequently rendered by ܕܝܢ, especially in the Peshitta text of John (see §4.9)—in Jn 3:25 in Alford,[69] Tischendorf, Von Soden, Vogels, and in Jn 13:22 in Alford, Tischendorf, Von Soden, Nestle-Aland27, Aland's *SFG*, and Aland's *SQE*.

Another example is ܕܝܢ cited as a witness to δέ against καί—which is frequently rendered by ܕܝܢ[70]—in Mk 4:1 in Von Soden and Legg, Mk 4:5; 11:8; 13:11, 12 in Alford, Legg, and Tregelles, in Lk 2:25; 23:35 in IGNTP, and in Lk 7:40 in Von Soden and IGNTP.

A third example is ܓܝܪ which renders δέ in Mt 23:12. Because they do not acknowledge that, for whatever reason, ܓܝܪ is sometimes the correspondence of δέ (compare Lk 2:44; 4:25; 12:48), Tischendorf, Tregelles, Von Soden, and IGNTP assume that the Greek equivalent has to be γάρ. One further example is ܓܝܪ which renders ὅτι in Lk 2:11. Because

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[65] Cf. also the comment "Die Konjunktion *gēr* wird im Syrischen ganz nach dem Muster der griechischen Partikel γάρ gebraucht" by Jändl in "Konjunktionen und Partikeln," 89.

[66] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 101, note 1. But note the conclusion by Clemons in his comments on the translation of γάρ and δέ in the Peshitta text of Galatians that this statement by Nöldeke is "misleading;" "Some Questions," 29–30.

[67] Burkitt in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. 2, 89. For Burkitt's comment in its context see note 108.

[68] "ܓܝܪ, congiunzione, *infatti, poiché* (1085 volte; Gr. γάρ)."

[69] Alford, *Greek New Testament*, vol. 1.

[70] KPG, 1:127–30.

IGNTP apparently does not recognize that ܓܝܪ is a genuine correspondence of ὅτι (compare Lk 6:19; 16:8; 18:14; Jn 5:30; 8:20) it assumes that ὅτι is omitted in the Peshitta.[71]

It is true that in Syriac translations of Greek works γάρ is frequently rendered by ܓܝܪ and δέ by ܕܝܢ, but to conclude that the Syriac is virtually exclusively dependent on the two Greek particles in question is an erroneous assumption in both Syriac and Greek scholarship. Neither translationally, nor semantically, nor lexically are we justified in presenting ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in a manner that suggests that they are respectively to be equated with γάρ and δέ.

4.2 ܓܝܪ as a Translation of the Greek

In the Syriac New Testament, the Syriac ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ often have no connection with the Greek γάρ and δέ. This is evident in the following analyses, first of ܓܝܪ and then of ܕܝܢ (§4.5). When all Greek variant readings are taken into account, we find that between 8% to 11% (32 to 43 occurrences) of the 384 occurrences of ܓܝܪ in the Peshitta Gospels do not have γάρ as a correspondence,[72] and in the three Peshitta Pastoral Epistles 25% of the 42 occurrences of ܓܝܪ do not have γάρ as a correspondence.[73] A total of 23 of these occurrences of ܓܝܪ (17 in the Gospels and six in the Pastoral Epistles—between 56% to 75%)[74] do not have a formal correspondence in the underlying Greek (see §4.4.5).[75] The rest translate other Greek terms: ἀλλά, ἀλλ' ὅτι, ἀνθ' ὧν, δέ, καί, μέν ... δέ or μὲν γάρ ... δέ = ܘ ... ܓܝܪ, and ὅτι. This analysis of ܓܝܪ may be summarized in the following synopses:

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[71] Examples of the comparable misuse of ܓܝܪ as a witness to γάρ against a correct correspondence may be ascertained from KPG's entry for ܓܝܪ. This can be achieved by comparing Greek correspondences other than γάρ with their citation in critical editions of the Greek New Testament.

[72] References to correspondences are available in KPG, 1:110, and in the collocations cited on pages 1:43, 46, and 63.

[73] The occurrences of γάρ in the Peshitta Gospels that do have ܓܝܪ as their equivalent are listed in KPG 1:110 and in the collocations for which there are cross-references. The occurrences of γάρ in the Pastoral Epistles that have ܓܝܪ as their equivalent are: 1 Tim 2:3, 5, 13; 3:13; 4:5, 8, 10, 16; 5:4, 11, 15, 18; 6:7, 10 (missing in Kiraz, *Computer Generated Concordance*); 2 Tim 1:7, 12; 2:11, 13, 16; 3:6, 9; 4:3, 6, 10, 11, 15; Titus 1:7, 10; 2:11; 3:3, 9, 12. The equivalent is δέ in 1 Tim 2:12; 3:5; 5:8; 6:6.

[74] In its analysis of the Greek correspondences of ܓܝܪ, KPG (p. 110) incorrectly lists Lk 13:24 under "n.c." (no correspondence); it should be under ὅτι.

[75] The six in the Pastoral Epistles are: 1 Tim 1:19; 6:21; 2 Tim 2:23; 3:14; Titus 1:11, 15.

ܓܝܪ in the Peshitta Gospels
Total occurrences: 384
Greek correspondences:
γάρ 338 to 349
ὅτι 7 to 10
δέ 4 to 10
ἀλλά 1 to 3
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι 0 to 1
ἀνθ᾽ ὧν (*so then, therefore*) 1
καί 3
μὲν ... δέ or μὲν γάρ ... δέ = 1   ܓܝܪ ... ܘ
No correspondence in the Greek 18

ܓܝܪ in 1 & 2 Timothy
Total occurrences: 33
Greek correspondences:
γάρ 25
δέ 4 (1 Tim 2:12; 3:5; 5:8; 6:6)
No correspondence in the Greek 4 (1 Tim 1:19;
6:21; 2 Tim 2:23; 3:14)

ܓܝܪ in Titus
Total occurrences: 8
Greek correspondences: γάρ 6
No correspondence in the Greek 2 (Titus 1:11,
15)

4.3 The Peshitta Rendering of γάρ

Let us now turn specifically to the treatment of γάρ in the Peshitta New Testament. While the Greek γάρ has the Syriac ܓܝܪ as its principal correspondence, there are significant exceptions in the Peshitta Gospels.

4.3.1 The Translation of γάρ by Terms Other Than ܓܝܪ

When all Greek variant readings are taken into account, the Peshitta Gospels translate between 356 to 367 occurrences of γάρ. Between fourteen and twenty-four of these instances are translated by a term other than ܓܝܪ. The fourteen about which there is no doubt are:

(a) ܕ Lk 6:23(1ˢᵗ occurrence)
(b) ܕܝܢ Mt 6:32; 26:12; Mk 9:6(1ˢᵗ occurrence), 41; Lk 9:26

(c) ܕܠܐ Mt 9:16

(d) ܕܓܝܪ = μὴ γάρ Jn 7:41

(e) ܘܕܠܐ Mk 9:40

(f) ܘ Mt 15:2

(g) ܡܛܠ ܕ Mk 6:52; 14:40; Jn 18:13; 21:7

The other ten are also likely as it can be argued that the textual evidence is weighted in support of γάρ as the Greek term underlying the Syriac rather than the variant reading introduced in brackets in the following list:

(a) ܕ Mk 13:35(*or* ὅτι); Lk 6:23(*or* ὅτι)

(b) ܕܝܢ Mt 6:32(*or* δέ); Mk 9:41(*or* καί)

(c) ܘܕܠܐ Jn 9:30(*or* οὖν)

(d) ܘ Mt 25:3(1ˢᵗ occurrence)(*or* δέ, *or* οὖν); Lk 21:26(2ⁿᵈ occurrence)

(e) ܡܛܠ ܕ Mt 23:10(*or* ὅτι); Mk 11:18(*or* ὅτι); Jn 10:26(*or* ὅτι)

From this analysis it is clear that close to 8% of the occurrences of γάρ in the Peshitta Gospels are rendered by Syriac terms other than ܓܝܪ.

If to these two lists we add the agreements of and the differences in the Old Syriac we find that of the fourteen Peshitta citations in the first list only three have a precedent in the Old Syriac, though seven readings that differ in the Sinaitic version are not extant in the Curetonian version, so that we do not know whether these seven readings agreed or disagreed with the Peshitta:

(a) ܕ Lk 6:23(1ˢᵗ occurrence) Syr[c]sp

(b) ܕܝܢ Mt 6:32—ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s; 26:12 Syr[c]sp; Mk 9:6(1ˢᵗ occurrence)—ܘ in Syr[c]s, 41— ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s; Lk 9:26—ܓܝܪ in Syrᶜ

(c) ܕܠܐ Mt 9:16 Syr[c]sp

(d) ܕܓܝܪ = μὴ γάρ Jn 7:41—ܐܠܐ in Syrᶜˢ

(e) ܘܕܠܐ Mk 9:40—ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s

(f) ܘ Mt 15:2—ܓܝܪ in Syrᶜˢ

(g) ܡܛܠ ܕ Mk 6:52 Syr[c]s; 14:40—ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s; Jn 18:13 Syr[c]p; 21:7 Syr[c]p

Of the ten Peshitta citations in the second list five have a precedent in the Old Syriac. The other five readings that differ from the Peshitta are not extant in one or the other of the Old Syriac versions, so that we do not know whether these readings agreed or disagreed with the Peshitta:

(a) ܕ Mk 13:35(*or* ὅτι)—ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s; Lk 6:23(*or* ὅτι) Syr[c]sp

(b) ܕܝܢ Mt 6:32(*or* δέ)—ܓܝܪ in Syrᶜ[s]; Mk 9:41(*or* καί)—ܓܝܪ in Syrᶜ[s]

(c) ܘܕܠܐ Jn 9:30(*or* οὖν) Syr[c]p

(d) ܘ Mt 25:3(1ˢᵗ occurrence)(*or* δέ, *or* οὖν) Syr[c]sp; Lk 21:26(2ⁿᵈ occurrence) Syrᶜˢp

(e) ܡܛܠ ܕ Mt 23:10(*or* ὅτι) Syrᶜˢp; Mk 11:18(*or* ὅτι)—ܓܝܪ in Syr[c]s; Jn 10:26(*or* ὅτι) Syr[c]sp

4.3.2 The Rendering of γάρ as a Marker of Inference

The most recent edition of *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (BDAG) is distinguished by the fact that it provides definitions as well as glosses for all words.[76] For γάρ, its latest editor, Frederick Danker, gives three primary definitions. The first is "marker of cause or reason," for which BDAG provides the primary gloss "for." The second is "marker of clarification," for which the primary gloss is "for, you see."[77] Both of these semantic functions apply to the use of the Syriac ܓܝܪ in Classical Syriac literature. It is the Peshitta's rendering of γάρ where this particle functions in the Greek New Testament and other early Christian literature according to BDAG's third definition, "marker of inference," that is particularly intriguing. BDAG glosses this function as "certainly, by all means, so, then." When BDAG applies these glosses to the function of γάρ in actual textual contexts, it translates them as "by no means = μὴ γάρ," "then," "[no,] indeed!," "yes, indeed!," "[not] for a moment," and "[they decide,] then." The Peshitta translators, no less than the twenty-first century BDAG, take a semantically differentiated approach to these seven occurrences of γάρ, which are translated by five different terms:

(a) ܒܠܚܘܕ *only* 1 Pet 4:15
(b) ܓܝܪ *for* 1 Cor 9:19; 2 Cor 5:4; *for* or *indeed* Acts 16:37
(c) ܗܟܝܠ *so, therefore, accordingly*, *then* Heb 12:3
(d) ܘ *so, consequently* Jas 1:7
(e) ܡܛܠ ܕ *because* Rom 15:27

In three instances the Peshitta has ܓܝܪ. Two of these (1 Cor 9:19; 2 Cor 5:4) we may translate as "for," which finds a parallel in the RSV and NRSV. To the other (Acts 16:37) we may assign the meaning "for," "indeed," which is paralleled by BDAG, NEB, REB, and NRSV. But in four places the Peshitta has sought an alternative to ܓܝܪ. The result is the five different renderings for the seven occurrences:

(a) ܒܠܚܘܕ *only*, BDAG *by no means* = μὴ γάρ 1 Pet 4:15; cf. RSV and NRSV *but* (*but* let none of you suffer);
(b) ܓܝܪ *for*; BDAG *[though I am free] then* 1 Cor 9:19; similarly 2 Cor 5:4; RSV and NRSV have *for* in both verses;
    ܓܝܪ *for, indeed*; BDAG, NEB, and REB *[no,] indeed!* Acts 16:37; cf. NRSV *Certainly [not]!*;
(c) ܗܟܝܠ *so, therefore, accordingly, then*; BDAG *yes, indeed!* Heb 12:3;
(d) ܘ *so, consequently*; BDAG *[not] for a moment* Jas 1:7;
(e) ܡܛܠ ܕ *because*; BDAG *[they decide,] then* Rom 15:27.

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[77] Within the body of the entry, Danker (BDAG, 189) also employs the glosses "well, then," "you see." For Rom 1:18; 2:25 he uses "indeed," "to be sure," and 1 Thess 2:20 and 1 Cor 9:10, "yes, indeed," "certainly."

4.3.3 Cases Where the Syriac Leaves γάρ Unrepresented

In some cases, the Peshitta and Old Syriac do not explicitly represent γάρ. The same approach is adopted by some contemporary English translations. An example is Acts 4:34:

> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεής τις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς
>
> ܘܐܢܫ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܨܝܪ ܘܣܢܝܩ (οὐδέ = ܠܝܬ ... ܘ, as can be confirmed by the Syriac translation of οὐδέ elsewhere)
>
> *There were no needy persons among them* NIV
> *There was not a needy person among them* RSV, NRSV
> *There was never a needy person among them* REB
> *None of their members was ever in want* JB

Further examples occur in questions. Some English translations parallel the Syriac. Mt 23:17 Syr^cs reads:

> τίς γὰρ μεῖζων (or μεῖζον)
>
> ܐܝܢܐ ܪܒ
>
> *Which is greater …?* NIV
> *Which is the more important …?* REB

Mt 23:19 Syr^csp reads:

> τί γὰρ μεῖζον (or μεῖζων)
>
> ܐܝܢܐ ܪܒ
>
> *Which is greater …?* NIV
> *Which is the more important …?* REB

But leaving the Greek γάρ unrepresented in rhetorical questions is by no means always the case. For instance, ܓܝܪ is provided in questions in Mt 9:5 Syr^[c]p; 16:26 Syr^c[s]p; 23:17 Syr^p, and 1 Cor 10:29. In these verses ܓܝܪ finds a parallel in the English "for" provided in the RSV and NRSV, though the first three are not represented in the NIV (compare Mt 23:17, 19 above). In other words, in the examples cited the Syriac demonstrates the same flexibility as contemporary English translations towards the Greek.

4.3.4 The Pastoral Epistles and the Need for Sample Texts to be Representative

The relationship between γάρ and ܓܝܪ in the Peshitta Pastoral Epistles is very different from the one between γάρ and ܓܝܪ in the Peshitta Gospels. Thirty-two of the thirty-four occurrences of γάρ find their equivalent in ܓܝܪ. One of the two other occurrences is translated by ܘ (2 Tim 3:2), and the other has no Syriac correspondence (2 Tim 2:7).

With regard to the Peshitta's treatment of γάρ, the Pastoral Epistles demonstrate the danger of relying on a sample that is too small to be representative, and the importance of analysing more than one book of a chosen corpus, for from the examples discussed in this section (§4.3) it is clear that ܓܝܪ is not treated in the Peshitta New Testament as if it were a mere imitation of γάρ. To the contrary, it is evident that the Peshitta translators were aware

of differences in the semantic function of γάρ, so that when the latter has a connotation that lies outside the semantic range of ܓܝܪ, an alternative rendering was selected.

4.4 Semantic Functions of ܓܝܪ and Appropriate Meanings in English

Both ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ have wider ranges of meaning than they are usually given in most Syriac lexical works.

As we have seen (§4.3.2), BDAG provides three primary definitions for γάρ: marker of cause or reason, marker of clarification, and marker of inference. These functions may be used as a semantic guideline for ܓܝܪ as it is employed in our prescribed corpus so long as it is remembered that (a) Syriac translators did not assume that ܓܝܪ was always the semantically appropriate translational equivalent of γάρ, or that ܓܝܪ should be restricted to the translation of γάρ, and that (b) each occurrence of ܓܝܪ must be assessed independently of the Greek as a Syriac word in its Syriac context.

4.4.1 ܓܝܪ as Marker of Cause or Reason

Like γάρ, ܓܝܪ often functions as a marker of cause or reason: "for, because, therefore, so then" Mk 16:8 Syr[c|p]; Lk 12:3 Syr[csp]; Jn 2:25 Syr[c|sp]; Acts 12:9; 2 Cor 12:12, et al. It is the only use acknowledged by *Thesaurus Syriacus* and CSD in which (as we saw in the section on syntax) it is classified as "a causal conjunction."

In some instances, ܓܝܪ can be represented in English by terms other than "for, because, therefore, so then." James Murdock translates ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܝܡܢܘ ܠܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ Rom 3:3 as *For if some of them have not believed.*[78] But in this context, it would be appropriate to translate ܓܝܪ (as well as γάρ, which it renders) by "then:" *what, then, if some were unfaithful?* The use by BDAG of the term "pray" for γάρ in Jas 4:14 is also applicable to the Syriac: ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢܐ *what, pray, is our life?*

As a marker of cause or reason, ܓܝܪ is often used with another particle that precedes it: ܐܦܠܐ ܓܝܪ Jn 5:46 Syr[csp]; ܐܢ ܓܝܪ Mt 5:46 Syr[csp]; 6:14 Syr[csp]; Lk 6:32 Syr[c|p]; Jn 16:7 Syr[c|p]; ... ܐܘ ܓܝܪ Mt 8:9 Syr[csp]; 26:73 Syr[c|p]; Mk 10:45 Syr[c|p]; 14:70 Syr[c|p]; Lk 6:32 Syr[c|p], 33 Syr[c|p], 34 Syr[c|p]; 7:8 Syr[c|sp]; 11:4 Syr[p]; 22:59 Syr[cp]; Jn 4:23; ܗܐ ... ܘܗܐ Jn 4:23 Syr[cs]; ܗܐ ܓܝܪ Mt 22:28 Syr[cs]; Lk 1:44 Syr[c|sp], 48 Syr[c|p]; 2:10 Syr[c|p]; 6:34 Syr[c|s]; 17:21 Syr[csp]; 20:33 Syr[cs]; 22:71 Syr[cs]; Acts 9:11; 2 Cor 7:11.

Earlier (§4.3.3), we saw that ܓܝܪ often occurs in questions as the translation of γάρ. In such cases ܓܝܪ and γάρ correspond in meaning. Thus we can use "for" to render ܓܝܪ in Mt 9:5 Syr[c|p]; 16:26 Syr[c|sp]; 23:17 Syr[p], and 1 Cor 10:29, just as the RSV and NRSV employ it to translate γάρ.

Sometimes, however, γάρ is used in questions where English must often leave it untranslated and add "then, pray," or prefix "what!" or "why!"[79] Where ܓܝܪ is the equivalent

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[78] Murdock, *Murdock's Translation.*

[79] BDAG, 189; Blass–Debrunner–Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §452.

it can be treated in exactly the same manner as γάρ. An example is the question ܡܳܢܐ ܓܝܪ

ܘܟܡܐ ܒܝܫ which translates τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν in Mt 27:23 Syr[c]sp; Mk 15:14 Syr[c]sp; Lk 23:22 Syrcsp. In this context, say Zerwick and Grosvenor, γάρ "seeks a reason for the preceding demand."[80] The comment is equally applicable to ܓܝܪ. Hence the most obvious prefix for both the Greek and the Syriac is "why?" "why, what evil has he done?"[81]

But the Syriac versions, like English ones, do not always represent γάρ where it is used in questions. As we have seen, it is an approach that has parallels in both modern English translations (Mt 23:17 Syrcs, NIV, REB, 19 Syrcsp, NIV, REB §4.3.3) and in BDAG. In accordance with its principle of adding a prefix where γάρ is left untranslated, BDAG renders μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε in 1 Cor 11:22 as "What! Have you no houses?" Like BDAG, the Peshitta leaves γάρ untranslated, but renders μή by the interrogative particle

ܘܠܡܐ ܒܬܐ ܕܝܪ ܠܟܘ ܠܡܗ ܠܡܐ ܠܟܘܢ *Why! Have you no houses?*

4.4.2 ܓܝܪ as a Non-causal Marker in Rhetorical Questions

To the preceding function of ܓܝܪ in questions should be added one that has been identified by Jan Joosten in the Peshitta Old Testament and other Syriac literature outside the biblical corpus. According to Joosten, there are rare cases where ܓܝܪ in a rhetorical question does not mean "for, because," but has a different function. All the clauses in question (Gen 4:9; Isa 36:10; Jer 13:12; Job 1:9; 6:22; 21:9, et al.) require the answer "no" (or "yes" in case the question contains a negation). "What is certain," says Joosten, "is that this use of *ger* is highly idiomatic: the particle does not correspond to any formal equivalent in the Hebrew and was freely added to enliven the style."[82]

4.4.3 ܓܝܪ as Marker of Clarification

As a marker of clarification, ܓܝܪ can be glossed as "for," "for, you see." Jn 3:16 Syrcsp is an example: ܗܳܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܚܒ ܐܠܗܐ *For God so loved [the world]* (compare Mt 12:40 Syrcp, 50 Syrcsp; 23:3 Syrcsp; 24:38 Syrcsp; Mk 7:3 Syr[c]p; Lk 8:40 Syrcsp; 9:14 Syrcsp; Jn 4:8 Syrp; Rom 7:2). Two further examples, which BDAG defines as "brief, explanatory, parenthetical clauses," are Mt 4:18 Syrp//Mk 1:16 Syr[c]p: ܨܝܳܕܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘܘ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ *for they were fishermen*, and Mk 2:15 Syr[cs]p: ܣܓܝܐܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘܘ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ *for there were many* (compare Mk 5:42 Syr[cs]p; 16:4 Syr[c]p; Rom 7:1; Gal 4:25). One should note, however, that in the Synoptic parallels Mt 4:18 Syrp and Mk 1:16 Syr[c]p the Old Syriac (Syrcs) interprets the Greek particle as a marker of cause or reason, for it has ܡܛܠ ܕ rather than ܓܝܪ.

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[80] Zerwick–Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 93.

[81] BDAG, 189, Blass–Debrunner–Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §452, NIV, NRSV, REB, RSV, Zerwick–Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 93.

[82] Joosten, "The Use of Some Particles," 179.

This function of ܓܝܪ can also be translated by the terms "well," "then," or "indeed:" "indeed, to be sure" Rom 1:18; 2:25; 4:3, 9; 5:7 (1st occurrence); 2 Cor 1:12; 10:12; 11:5; 1 Tim 2:5; "yes, indeed; certainly" 1 Cor 9:10; 1 Thess 2:20.[83]

To these references may be added 2 Tim 2:11 where ܓܝܪ in the phrase ܐܢ ܓܝܪ ܡܝܬܢ ܥܡܗ can be understood in one of two ways as a marker of clarification:[84]

(a) As premised on the previous statement, "the saying is trustworthy," and accordingly translated as "for," "for, you see:"

The saying is trustworthy: for (for, you see),
If we have died with him, we shall also live with him

(b) As helping to reinforce the truth of the preceding statement and accordingly translated as "indeed:"

The saying is trustworthy:
If, indeed, we have died with him, we shall also live with him

Both meanings would meet the requirements of the context, so that perhaps in an English translation we should be open to both.

4.4.4 ܓܝܪ as the Rendering of γάρ as a Marker of Inference

Earlier (§4.3), we saw that in three of seven instances where γάρ functions as a marker of inference as that term is employed in BDAG (1 Cor 9:19; 2 Cor 5:4; Acts 16:37) the Peshitta has ܓܝܪ, but that it employs other terms for the other four occurrences: ܒܠܚܘܕ *only* (1 Pet 4:15); ܗܟܝܠ *so, therefore, accordingly, then* (Heb 12:3); ܘ *so, consequently* (Jas 1:7); and ܡܛܠ ܕ *because* (Rom 15:27). In this instance it would seem that the Peshitta translators felt that γάρ exceeds the semantic range of ܓܝܪ and that other Syriac renderings were therefore necessary.

4.4.5 ܓܝܪ Where It Lacks a Formal Correspondence in the Greek[85]

The seventeen places in the Peshitta Gospels and six in the Pastoral Epistles where ܓܝܪ lacks a correspondence in the Greek are unexceptional. As the following references reveal, eight have a precedent in the Old Syriac. Lk 24:37—ܘ in Syrᶜˢ, 1 Tim 1:19 and 2 Tim 2:23 are apt examples of the particle being used to convert a Greek sentence into two Syriac sentences.

In three places the Syriac converts a Greek participle into a perfect verb followed by ܓܝܪ: Mt 22:43 Syrᶜˢᵖ; Mk 12:6—ܘ in Syr[c]ˢ and Lk 24:22 Syrᵖ. In the two first verses the Greek participle is λέγων, which is rendered by the perfect verb ܐܡܪ followed by ܓܝܪ: ܐܡܪ

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[83] BDAG also lists γάρ in Rom 12:3 as a marker of clarification, but the Peshitta has ܕܝܢ, not ܓܝܪ.

[84] Falla, "Translation, Genre, and Lexicography," 7–54.

[85] The material in §4.4.2, §4.4.5, §4.7.3, and §4.7.4 was presented by Terry Falla in a paper on "The Functions of ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ in the Peshitta Gospels Where They Lack a Formal Correspondence in the Greek" at a seminar at Whitley College, University of Melbourne, in 2006.

ܐܡܪ *for he said*. Lk 24:22 follows the same pattern with its translation of γενόμεναι ὀρθριναί by ܩܕܡ ܗܘܝ ܗܘܝ *for they went early*.

In terms of semantic function, most of the occurrences of ܓܝܪ that lack a correspondence in the Greek have the function of marker of cause or reason: Mt 22:43 Syr[csp]; Mk 12:6—ܘ in Syr[cls]; Lk 20:37 Syr[p]; 24:22 Syr[p], 37—ܘ in Syr[cs]; Jn 3:31 Syr[cp]— ܡܛܠ ܕ ... in Syr[s]; 4:38 Syr[slp]; 6:45 Syr[csp]; 9:24 Syr[clsp]; 10:18 Syr[clsp], 29—, ܡܛܠ in Syr[cls]; 11:31 Syr[clp]; 16:2 Syr[clsp]; 17:16 Syr[clsp]; 1 Tim 6:21; 2 Tim 2:23; 3:14; Titus 1:11.

In five instances ܓܝܪ is probably best viewed as a marker of clarification: Jn 1:9—ܕ in Syr[cls]; 4:24 Syr[cp]; 14:18; 1 Tim 1:19, and Titus 1:15.

4.5 ܕܝܢ as a Translation of the Greek

The disjunction between the Syriac ܕܝܢ and the Greek δέ in the Peshitta New Testament is even greater than that between ܓܝܪ and γάρ.[86] There are hundreds of places in the Peshitta New Testament where δέ is translated by terms other than ܕܝܢ. Conversely, as can be seen in the following synopses—which take all known Greek variant readings into account so that often more than one Greek term vies for the status of being the actual Greek correspondence and consideration as the one that was actually in the Syriac translator's source text—between 126 to 174 occurrences of ܕܝܢ in the prescribed corpus translate terms other than δέ.

ܕܝܢ in the Gospels
Total occurrences: 1073
Greek correspondences:
δέ 879 to 957
δέ = ܕܝܢ ... ܐܘ 2
δέ = ܕܝܢ ... ܘ 2
Terms other than δέ 122 to 170:
καί 44 to 74
οὖν 37 to 55
ἀλλά 5
μέντοι 4
γάρ 3 to 5
καί = ܕܝܢ ... ܘܐܘ 2
πλήν 2
ἐὰν μή τις = ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܫ 1
καί = ܕܝܢ ... ܘ 1

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
[86] For details on the Peshitta Gospels provided by KPG, vol. 1, it is necessary to refer not only to the primary entry on ܕܝܢ, but also to all the relevant analytical categories (collocations) that follow it, which in some cases are cross-referenced to where they are cited in full elsewhere in the volume.

ὅμως μέντοι καί = ܐܘ ... ܕܝܢ 1
ὅτι 1
τέ 1
No correspondence in the Greek 17

ܕܝܢ in 1 & 2 Timothy
Total occurrences: 42
Greek correspondences:
δέ 33
δέ = ܕܝܢ ... ܘ (1 Tim 3:15)
οὖν 1 (1 Tim 3:2)
γάρ 1 (1 Tim 6:10)
No correspondence in the Greek 5 (1 Tim 6:2; 2 Tim 2:12, 17; 4:13, 15)

ܕܝܢ in Titus
Total occurrences: 7
Greek correspondences: δέ 5
No correspondence in the Greek 2 (Titus 1:11, 15)

In the Gospels, the terms translated by ܕܝܢ include ἀλλά, γάρ, and πλήν, but especially καί, μέντοι, and οὖν. As the entry on ܕܝܢ in KPG records, close to a quarter of the Peshitta Johannine occurrences of ܕܝܢ translate οὖν (see §4.9). Four of the five occurrences of μέντοι, which is used only in John, are rendered by ܕܝܢ. In Jn 15:6 ἐὰν μή τις corresponds to ܐܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܫ *but if anyone does not, anyone who does not* (Syr[c|s] has ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ *and whoever does not*).

In contrast to John and Matthew, both Mark and Luke often employ ܕܝܢ to render καί. Mark uses ܕܝܢ to translate καί in twenty-one to thirty-seven instances, and Luke in twenty-three to thirty instances.

In two places, Mark renders καί by ܗܘ ... ܕܝܢ (Mk 15:29, 32; Syr[c|s] does not include the clause concerned in the first verse and has only ܗܘ for the second). In one instance Luke translates καί by ܘ ... ܕܝܢ (Lk 2:36—ܗܘ in Syr[c|s]). In Mk 14:59 the phrase καὶ οὐδέ is rendered by ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ *but not even, yet not even* (ܘܠܐ in Syr[c|s]), and in Jn 12:42 ὅμως μέντοι καί is translated by ܐܘ ... ܕܝܢ (ܗܘ ... ܕܝܢ in Syr[c|s]). In seventeen instances—three in Matthew, two in Mark, four in Luke, and eight in John—ܕܝܢ has no corresponding Greek term (see §4.7.4).

These Peshitta translational patterns differ greatly from the approach of the two Old Syriac versions to the Greek particles in question. But the three do share in common the fact that none of them conforms to the relationship between ܕܝܢ and δέ that has been assumed by Syriac and Greek scholarship.

An intimation of the range of Greek terms—which do not involve variant Greek readings—rendered by ܕܝܢ in the Old Syriac is evident in the following examples of agreements between the Old Syriac and the Peshitta:

(a) ἀλλά Lk 6:27 Syr[c]sp; Jn 16:25 Syr[c]sp

(b) γάρ Mt 26:12 Syr[c]sp

(c) καί Mk 6:44 Syr[c]sp, 47 Syr[c]sp; 8:17 Syr[c]sp; 14:57 Syr[c]sp; Lk 1:7 Syr[c]sp; 2:25 Syr[c]sp, 33 Syr[c]sp, 51 Syrcsp, 52 Syrcsp

(d) καὶ ἰδού Mt 9:3 Syr[c]sp

(e) μέντοι Jn 7:13 Syrcsp; 20:5 Syr[c]sp

(f) ὅτι Lk 19:43

(g) οὖν Jn 4:1 Syrcsp; 6:14 Syrcsp; 7:11 Syrcp, 40 Syrsp; 12:3 Syrsp; 18:10 Syr[c]sp, 19; 20:6 Syr[c]sp; 21:7 Syr[c]sp

(h) εἰ οὖν οὐδέ = ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ Lk 12:26 Syrcsp

4.6 The Peshitta Rendering of δέ

The Peshitta New Testament employs a number of terms to render δέ. Numerically, ܕܝܢ stands at the head of the list, and ܘ in second place. Aland's *Vollständige Konkordanz* lists sixty-three occurrences of δέ in the Pastoral Epistles. Fifty-eight of these are translated by the Peshitta. Thirty-eight find their correspondence in ܕܝܢ and twenty (34%) in another term: eighteen in ܘ,[87] four in ܓܝܪ[88] and one in ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ.[89] A similar pattern is to be observed in the Peshitta Gospels where ܘ claims δέ as its second most frequent equivalent,[90] while other renderings, though significant, are in the relative minority.

But frequency can divert attention away from semantic subtlety. It can overshadow, for instance, the important part played by a Syriac particle that is used infrequently to translate a high-frequency Greek term because the actual function that it renders is of comparatively low frequency. Under the function of δέ as "marker of contrast," BDAG (page 213) has the subcategory "after a negative *rather*." This function seems to have been appreciated by the Syriac translators, who render it mainly by ܐܠܐ (which is the primary equivalent of ἀλλά), in one instance by ܓܝܪ, and in three by ܕܝܢ:

(a) ܐܠܐ Lk 10:20 Syrcsp ("<u>but</u> rejoice that your names are written in heaven"); compare Acts 12:14; Eph 4:15; Heb 4:13, 15; 6:12; 9:12; 12:13 = δὲ μᾶλλον

(b) ܓܝܪ Acts 12:9 ("<u>for</u> he had supposed that he had been seeing a vision")

(c) ܕܝܢ Mt 6:33 Syrc[s]p ("<u>rather</u> [but] seek first the kingdom of God"); compare ܕܝܢ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ = δὲ μᾶλλον Mt 10:6—ܐܠܐ in Syr[c]s, 28 Syr[c]sp

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[87] 1 Tim 4:7; 5:4(1°), 13(1°), 24(2°); 6:11(1°); 2 Tim 1:10(1°), 10(2°); 2:5, 16, 20, 22(1°); 3:5; Titus 1:1(1°), 3; 3:14.

[88] 1 Tim 2:12; 3:5; 5:8; 6:6.

[89] 1 Tim 6:8.

[90] Falla, KPG, 2:43.

In summary, the evidence contradicts the thesis that on the one hand ܘܝܢ is little more than the Syriac counterpart of the Greek δέ, and on the other that δέ finds its semantic equivalence in ܘܝܢ.

4.7 Semantic Functions of ܘܝܢ and Appropriate Meanings in English

As with ܓܝܪ, the following analysis is based on the use of ܘܝܢ in the prescribed corpus, though the examples that are cited are not limited to it.

4.7.1 ܘܝܢ Expressing Continuation or Contrast

In its function expressing continuation or contrast, the conjunctive/connective particle ܘܝܢ (see §3) is used as a marker:

(a) (i) Connecting lines of narrative as in relating one teaching to another: "and, as for, now" Mt 5:29 Syr^{csp}; 6:16—ܘ in Syr$^{c[s]}$; Rom 14:1; 1 Cor 7:1

(ii) Linking narrative segments: "now, then, so, that is" Mt 1:18 Syr^{csp}; 2:1—ܘ in Syr^{cs}; Jn 1:39—ܘ in Syr^{cs}; 4:46—ܘ in Syr$^{c[s]}$; Rom 3:22

(b) Of contrast:

(i) "but, however, on the other hand" Mt 18:7—ܐܠܐ in Syr^{cs}; 19:8 Syr^{csp}; Lk 10:6 in ܐܢ ܠܐ ܘܝܢ ܘܐܢ—ܠܐ ܘܝܢ in Syr^{c}; 1 Cor 11:7; "nevertheless" 2 Tim 2:19

(ii) after a negative, "but, rather" Mt 6:33 Syr$^{c[s]p}$

(iii) forming a transition to something new Lk 12:7; Jn 16:25 Syr$^{[c]sp}$

(c) Of contrast with heightened emphasis in combination with ܐܦ:

(i) ܘܝܢ ܐܦ "but even," *but as for you, even the strands of the hair of your head*[91] are all numbered Mt 10:30—ܘܐܦ in Syr$^{[c]s}$

(ii) ܘܝܢ ... ܐܦ "but, but indeed:" *but these are written that you might believe* Jn 20:31—Syr$^{[c]s}$ does not include ܐܦ

(d) Of an implied clause of concession:[92] "nevertheless, and yet, yet, however" Jn 12:42, where ܘܝܢ ... ܐܦ (ܘܝܢ ... ܘܐܦ in Syr^{cs}) renders ὅμως μέντοι καί: *nevertheless/and yet (ܘܝܢ) many even (ܐܦ) among the leaders believed in him*

4.7.2 ܘܝܢ Introducing the Result of an Inference

As a marker denoting that what it introduces is the result of an inference from what precedes, ܘܝܢ is a primary equivalent of οὖν in the Peshitta Fourth Gospel (see §4.9): "now, so, consequently, accordingly, then, so then" Mk 16:19 Syr^{cp}; Lk 20:29 Syr^{p}; 21:14—ܘ in Syr^{cs}; Jn 4:46—ܘ in Syr$^{c[s]}$; 5:19 Syr^{p}; 9:8—ܘ in Syr$^{[c]s}$; 10:7 Syr$^{[c]p}$; 18:17 Syr$^{[c]p}$; 20:21 Syr$^{[c]p}$ et al.

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[91] Or *even the very hairs of your head.*

[92] Cf. Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, §89.75.

In Mt 12:12 the context is a rhetorical question: "how much more valuable, *then* (ܗܟܝܠ in Syr^cs), is a human being than a sheep?"

4.7.3 ܕܝܢ in Wishes and Apodoses[93]

Joosten's study of ܕܝܢ alerts us to the fact that a semantic investigation of a particle in a particular corpus may well miss an important function either because it is not employed in that corpus, or because attention has not been drawn to it previously.[94] His concern is with the use of ܕܝܢ in wishes or in apodoses incapable of fulfilment. This use, says Joosten, is "a survival of the original Semitic meaning of *den: 'then, thereupon'*."[95] He gives many examples from various sources including the Peshitta Old Testament and the Old Syriac (in wishes Mt 23:23 Syr^cs; Lk 19:42 Syr^c; in apodoses Mt 17:20 Syr^s; Lk 19:23 Syr^cs).

Joosten notes that none of the cases he cites from the Old Syriac are to be found in the Peshitta New Testament. There are, however, two occurrences that have escaped his notice. In the synoptic parallels Mt 11:21 and Lk 10:13 the Peshitta as well as the two Old Syriac versions have ܕܝܢ, which does not have an equivalent in the Greek, in the apodosis. Like Mt 17:20 in Syr^s cited by Joosten, the construction begins with ܐܠܘ: ܘܐܠܘ ܒܨܘܪ ܘܒܨܝܕܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܗ̈ܘܝ ܡܬܠܐ (the word ܐܠܘ is lacking in Lk 10:13) ܐܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܕܘ ܒܣܩܐ ܘܒܩܛܡܐ ܬܒܘ *for if the deeds of power done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, then they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes*. Even if these occurrences are seen as remnants of Old Syriac readings preserved in the Peshitta, they are nevertheless two of six witnesses in the Early Syriac versions of the Gospels to the function Joosten has so helpfully brought to light.

4.7.4 ܕܝܢ Where It Lacks a Formal Correspondence in the Greek[96]

In seventeen instances in the Peshitta Gospels (the same number as ܓܝܪ §4.4.5) and seven in the Pastoral Epistles ܕܝܢ lacks a correspondence in the Greek. Eight have a precedent in the Old Syriac (the same number as ܓܝܪ §4.4.5). These additions are a witness to the use of functions of ܕܝܢ in the early Syriac versions that were introduced by a translator free from the influence of a specific correspondence in the source text. With the exception of an ambiguous occurrence in Jn 5:28, all the additions serve one or another of the functions described in the preceding section:

(a) In Mt 4:2 ܕܝܢ introduces the result of the preceding sentence: ܟܦܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ *and/then afterwards he was hungry*, which translates ὕστερον ἐπείνασεν *afterwards he hungered*. The Peshitta addition simplifies the rendering of the underlying Greek construction and adds clarity to the Syriac construction. The NRSV has a parallel addition: "*and*

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[93] See note 85.
[94] Joosten, "The Use of Some Particles," 180–82.
[95] Joosten, "The Use of Some Particles," 180.
[96] See note 85.

afterwards he was famished." In the Peshitta text of Mk 4:28 ܕܝܢ again follows the adverb اِسنُكَ.

(b) (i) Connecting lines of narrative: "and, as for, now" Lk 21:19 Syr[cp]—ܓܝܪ in Syr[s]; 2 Tim 2:17; 4:13, 15; Titus 2:7; 3:13

(ii) Perhaps also denoting emphasis: "now, and" (in contrast to Syr[c[s]] which adds (ܗܘܨܐ) أنَّهُ، ؤَوَحُهُ، ܕܝܢ ܦܐܘܟ̈ܬܗܘܢ، ܗܟ _now_/ _and_ by their fruits you will know them Mt 7:16

(c) (i) Denoting contrast: "but the child Jesus remained in Jerusalem" Lk 2:43—ܘ in Syr[c[s]]; see also Lk 13:3; Jn 3:33 Syr[csp]; 4:22—ܘ in Syr[cs]; 6:50 Syr[cp], 54 Syr[sp]; 9:25 Syr[c[s]sp]; 12:29—ܘ in Syr[c[s]]; 14:24 Syr[c[c]p]; 1 Tim 6:3

(ii) The addition of ܕܝܢ (and of two occurrences of ܘ) as an indicator of contrast in the versicle in 2 Tim 2:11b–13 is an example of a particle that performs at an aesthetic as well as syntactic and semantic level. It heightens the antithesis between the fourth line of the versicle and the two that precede it, and contributes to the strongly alliterative and assonantal dimension of the poem.[97]

(d) In a rhetorical question, perhaps for the purpose of emphasis: "indeed, but:" ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܐܦܐ ܟ ܠܢ ܓܠܝܠ _Indeed_/ _but_, who rolled away the stone for us? Mk 16:3 Syr[c[s]sp]

(e) Introducing an apodosis (see §4.7.3): "then" Mt 11:21 Syr[csp]; Lk 10:13 Syr[csp]

(f) As Murdock acknowledges in his translation, the punctuation of the Peshitta text of Jn 5:27–28 makes the text difficult to understand.[98] For this reason we have not assigned a function to ܕܝܢ in Jn 5:28.

4.8 Particles Other Than ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ

In this essay we have focussed on ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ. But these are not the only particles that have been misused in textual criticism and misrepresented in Syriac lexica. Both Syriac and Greek scholarship have imposed uninformed limitations on the relationship between the Greek καί and the Syriac ܘ. Again, from Tischendorf to the present, καί and ܘ are often treated as if they were the only authentic equivalents of each other. But ܘ, which has several uses,[99] is also a significant equivalent of δέ, and also of οὖν, τέ, and τὲ καί, εἶτα and ἔπειτα; it translates ἤ in several instances, and is employed to render other Greek terms in particular contexts.[100]

Conversely, καί is the principal equivalent of ܐܦ and ܐܦܘ, and, as we have seen, is often translated by ܕܝܢ.

The following readings which employ three different Syriac terms—none of them ܘ— reflect the apparent responsiveness of Syriac translators to syntactic and semantic nuances of καί:[101]

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[97] Falla, "Translation, Genre, and Lexicography."

[98] Murdock, _Murdock's Translation_, 174.

[99] Falla, KPG, 2:42–53.

[100] Falla, KPG, 2:42–43.

[101] Falla, KPG, 2:44, column a.

(a) ܕ, ܐܦ *although, even though:* ܟܡܐ ܕ, ܘܐܦ ܘܡܢܡܕ ܕ, ܐܦ *although I have begun to speak with you* Jn 8:25 (no equivalent in Syr[c]s) may be regarded as a creative solution to the syntagm ὅτι καί, for which modern Greek scholarship and translations offer multiple solutions.[102]

(b) ܟܕܡ: καὶ νῦν = ܗܫܐ ܕܟܡ *but now, nevertheless, now* Acts 3:17

(c) temporal use of ܕ in Lk 19:43 Syr[csp] to match the temporal use of καί:[103] ܘܢܣܒܘܪܘܢܟܝ ܕܢܚܕܪܘܢܟܝ *when your enemies will surround you* = καὶ (παρεμβαλοῦσιν) οἱ ἐχθροί σου (χάρακά σοι καὶ) περικυκλώσουσίν σε [Syr[csp] omit words in brackets]

These examples demonstrate that a proper estimate of the Old Syriac and Peshitta particles ܟܡܐ and ܕ, and of other particles as well, requires an analysis of the full cycle of Syriac and Greek terms involved.

4.9 A Comparison of the Peshitta Gospels with Each Other

Our observations regarding ܕ, thus far concern the selected corpus as a totality. But a comparison of the Peshitta Gospels with each other reveals that their approach to ܕ, and the Greek they use it to translate is by no means uniform.

The Peshitta Gospel ܕ, frequently translates καί. But with only two exceptions, the Peshitta never renders καί by ܕ, in Matthew and John, but only in Mark and Luke, which together use ܕ, to translate καί in thirty-one to forty-two places.[104]

In the Peshitta text of John, ܕ, is the principal equivalent of οὖν. Conversely, when all Greek variant readings have been taken into account, between a third to a half of the Johannine occurrences of ܕ, translate οὖν.[105] In the following list of instances where ܕ, is the equivalent of οὖν, οὖν is the only term that ܕ, could have translated; according to the evidence that is available in critical editions of the Greek New Testament, there are no variants that also have to be taken into account as conceivable correspondences of ܕ,. The list identifies the nine instances where ܕ, has a precedent in the Old Syriac: Jn 4:1 Syr[csp], 46; 5:19; 6:14 Syr[csp], 15; 7:11 Syr[cp]—ܘ in Syr[s], 40 Syr[sp]—ܘ in Syr[c]; 8:12; 9:8; 10:7; 11:20(1st occurrence), 33; 12:1, 3 Syr[c]sp], 7; 18:10(1st occurrence) Syr[c]sp], 17, 19 Syr[c]sp], 28, 29, 33; 19:23(1st occurrence), 31; 20:6 Syr[c]sp], 21, 30; 21:7 Syr[c]sp], 13.

Sixteen of these twenty-eight Peshitta Johannine instances of ܕ, have no precedent in the Old Syriac: Jn 4:46—ܘ in Syr[c]s]; 5:19 Syr[cs]; 6:15—ܘ in Syr[cs]; 8:12 Syr[cs]; 9:8—ܘ in Syr[c]s]; 10:7 Syr[c]s]; 11:20(1st occurrence of ܕ, in Syr[p])—ܘ in Syr[c]s], 33—ܘ in Syr[c]s]; 12:1—ܘ in Syr[c]s],

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[102] Blass–Debrunner–Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §300 (2); Zerwick–Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 312.

[103] On the temporal use of καί see Moulton–Howard, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 2, 421; Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 1183. On the temporal use of ܕ to translate ὅτε see Falla, KPG, 1:116, §II.

[104] Falla, KPG, 1:127–28.

[105] In Peshitta John οὖν is also translated by ܗܟܝܠ (eleven to thirteen times; see KPG, 2.26–27), and by ܘ in numerous instances (see KPG, 2.44).

7 Syr[c]s; 18:17 Syr[c]s, 28—ܘ in Syr[c]s, 29—ܘ in Syr[c]s; 20:21 Syr[c]s; 30—ܘ in Syr[c]s; 13—ܘ in Syr[c]s.

Were we able to check both Old Syriac versions at the places where one of them has no precedent for the Peshitta ܗܝܢ, but the other is not extant (twelve in the Curetonian and one in the Sinaitic), and the three places for which neither version is extant (Jn 18:33; 19:23, 31) we might find other occurrences of ܗܝܢ. But even were that the case the evidence suggests that ܗܝܢ in the Peshitta is the consequence of deliberate lexical choice. As an equivalent of οὖν, the Johannine ܗܝܢ presents itself as more than a remnant of occurrences that were not corrected to ܗܟܝܠ, which is the conclusion of Sebastian Brock.[106] Rather, in its Johannine Peshitta context, it may be accepted as a particle that was considered by its translator (revisor) to be a semantically appropriate rendering of οὖν (see §4.7.2).[107]

5. CONCLUSION

To subject Syriac particles to an exhaustive investigation is helpful, to say the least, for the insights to be gained are many and varied. First, we have seen that syntactically the two particles chosen for study can be defined more precisely than they have been previously and that semantically they cannot be yoked to their formal Greek counterparts. To the contrary, we have seen that it is linguistically perilous to make assumptions and draw conclusions on the basis of general rather than detailed observations, or without entering into the labyrinth of textual facts required by the complex relationship between source and target texts.

Secondly, the study reveals that Syriac particles no less than other parts of speech demand that they be assessed on an instance-by-instance basis. A critical point of exegesis in the target text can turn on a syntactic and semantic interpretation of a particle in the source that informed it. In this regard, choices exercised by the Syriac translators often reveal a sensitivity to the semantic functions of the underlying Greek particles—functions that in the modern period are often recorded only in major resources such as BDAG, Blass, Debrunner and Funk, and Robertson. It is a phenomenon that draws attention to the significance of detail in the study of particles, not only for a proper understanding of the particles themselves, but also of the text of the Early Syriac versions and their relationship to their source texts.

Thirdly, the study of Syriac particles is a window into translation techniques employed in the Peshitta New Testament. We have observed that distinct patterns of usage and different approaches in different books suggest deliberate vocabulary choices across a spectrum of material, and not just in specific instantiations. It underlines the need to treat

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[106] Brock, "Limitations," 94.

[107] Cf. the comments of Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. 2, 89: "The rendering of οὖν presents some interest on account of its extraordinary frequency as a connecting particle in S. John. The natural Syriac equivalent is ܗܟܝܠ, but like the English 'therefore,' to which it very nearly corresponds, it is slightly stronger than οὖν. Consequently, we find in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* that ܘ and ܗܝܢ (i.e. δέ) are used to render οὖν. Simple omission also is not infrequent."

the two Syriac particles ܘܬܘܒ and ܕܝܢ independently of each other. In conjunction with other evidence it also points to the collective authorship of the Peshitta New Testament.

Fourthly, the subject matter of our essay has inevitably again drawn attention to the fact that Syriac particles are frequently cited in textual criticism in support of either a primary or variant Greek reading, but often incorrectly. The situation can be rectified only through an exhaustive comparison of the Greek with the Syriac, and the treatment of Syriac as a natural language.

Fifthly, the continuing study of particles is critical for lexicography, especially for the lexicon that desires to provide grammatical classification in the form of taxonomy and parts of speech, and meanings that will do justice to the lexicalized vocabulary. In this regard, many of the syntactic, semantic, and text-critical insights could not have been accomplished without a detailed analysis of the Greek term underlying a Syriac term. The study therefore illustrates the need for the provision of source-text correspondences in a future lexicon of the Syriac New Testament, and for a sound methodology for the citation of those correspondences.

Finally, it must be said that the insights we have gained are to a restricted corpus. They therefore call for an examination of ܘܬܘܒ and ܕܝܢ in other parts of the Syriac New Testament and in other Syriac literature, and for a detailed study of other Syriac particles. For the Syriac New Testament such studies promise further insights into the origins of the Peshitta and the number of translators involved in it.

As we have seen, particles are part of the literary, stylistic, and rhetorical fabric of the early versions. They deserve no less attention than that given to their Greek, Latin, and Hebrew counterparts.

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CHAPTER 5
TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL CONCORDANCE OF THE HARKLEAN NEW TESTAMENT

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To justify the dominance of the translational perspective the accessibility of the version's Greek model is demonstrated by an analysis of the translator's philological principles. The second part continues to determine the non-Peshitta vocabulary of the Harklean for possible inclusion in a future Syriac lexicon.[1]

1. THE TRANSLATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CONCORDANCE

In the domain of Syriac studies the first computer-assisted analytical concordance is the *Konkordanz zum syrischen Psalter* (1976) produced by N. Sprenger under the direction of W. Strothmann († 1995).[2] Although the epithet "analytical" is absent from the title of this concordance and from the subsequent volumes published by Strothmann himself,[3] it can be regarded as a model of an "analytical" concordance because of its lexical and morphological analysis as well as its translational information. A concordance for the New Testament Peshitta based on identical (and even more developed) analytical principles was produced by G.A. Kiraz (1993).[4] The special analytical importance of these concordances has become clearer since the publication of the Old Testament Peshitta concordance issued by the Peshitta Institute Leiden (1997).[5] This concordance produces the same analytical data as those of Strothmann, Sprenger, and Kiraz, but the data are arranged differently, and do not

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[1] I am indebted to the volume editor Peter J. Williams, to the managing editor Beryl Turner, and to the series editor Terry Falla for their criticism, encouragement, and patience.

[2] Sprenger, *Konkordanz zum syrischen Psalter*. The analytical concordance of Winter, *Concordance to the Peshitta Version of Ben Sira* was created by hand. Strothmann's *Konkordanz des syrischen Koheletbuches* was created by hand too, and offers no morphological analysis.

[3] Strothmann, *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel: Die Propheten*; *Der Pentateuch*; *Die Mautbe*; Strothmann, *Wörterverzeichnis der apokryphen-deuterokanonischen Schriften*.

[4] Kiraz, *Computer-Generated Concordance*.

[5] *Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*, part V: *Concordance*, vol. 1: *The Pentateuch*.

reflect the more detailed morphological analysis of the others. The alphabetical arrangement of the articles and the sequential order of the entries according to biblical book, chapter, and verse are the sole principles of organisation in this concordance. Morphological information is reduced to the verbal stems of any given verb and attached to each entry by a Roman number.[6] On the other hand, the Leiden concordance includes translational information about the corresponding Hebrew and Greek word(s), which is absent from the volumes of Strothmann and Kiraz. The existence side-by-side of concordances with different analytical features in the domain of Syriac studies makes it desirable to introduce the epithet "analytical" into the titles of concordances with explicit analytical arrangement of the entries.[7]

With regard to an analytical concordance of the Harklean New Testament the *translational* analysis will be the most characteristic feature. As the Harklean version is remarkably transparent in its representation of the Greek model it allows for a retroversion which goes far beyond the mere enumeration of the corresponding Greek-Syriac vocabulary. Full analysis of the Harklean will prepare the ground not only for a concordance but also for a Harklean Greek-Syriac lexicon and grammar of its own. This translational perspective of the version is the topic of the present article.

1.1 Two Basic Principles of the Concordance

An essential precondition for the lexical and morphological analysis of the Harklean is a critical and vocalized edition of the Syriac text to analyse the (most) original[8] stage of the version and to avoid morphological ambiguity.[9] Recently published texts of the Harklean Gospels, St. Paul and the Catholic Epistles included in comparative editions[10] offer (although printed in unvocalized Estrangela-type[11]) convenient starting points for new and non-comparative editions of the Harklean in vocalized Serto-type. The existing comparative

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[6] *Concordance of the Peshitta Version* published by "The Way International" reduces the morphological analysis to the verb stems too, but introduces this analysis as the basic principle for the arrangement of the articles which are organized according to roots.

[7] The concordance of Lund, *Old Syriac Gospel of the Distinct Evangelists* includes an analytical arrangement of the context lines.

[8] The small number of manuscripts of Acts, the Epistles, and Revelation does not allow for much criticism but forces one to rely on single "best" manuscripts. Only the Harklean Gospels are extant in a good number of manuscripts, but again a single witness (Vat. Syr. 268, ca. 8th–9th cent.) preserves the most original text; see Juckel, "Die Bedeutung des Ms. Vat. Syr. 268."

[9] Most of the Harklean manuscripts are written in Estrangela and furnished with the well-known dots for vocalization. This primitive system of vocalization, however, is not consistently used in the manuscripts; therefore it should be standardized by the editor or "translated" into the sytem of the five "Greek" vowels.

[10] Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*; Aland–Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*.

[11] The only vocalized Harklean edition in Serto-type was published by Bernstein, *Das Heilige Evangelium des Iohannes*, who adopted the vocalization of Ms Vat. Syr. 271 (CE 1483).

editions of St. Paul and the major Catholic Epistles also paved the way for the translational analysis by the retroversions they offer.[12] Although the detailed design of the future analytical concordance of the Harklean New Testament is still under discussion, there are, however, two basic principles which derive from the translational perspective of the version.

The first basic principle is that the concordance will follow Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed. 1928) in being organized according to root. The reason for this decision is the impact of translational analysis and the unexpected good access to the Greek model of the version. An analysis of the Harklean translation reveals that there is a striking correspondence between Greek words derived from the same root and the Syriac words used to translate them, which will also be derived from the same Syriac root; that is, one Syriac word and its derivatives will be consistent in the translation with the one Greek word and its derivatives. In order to represent the version's translational consistency satisfactorily in a concordance, the arrangement by root and by verbal stems respectively is the natural way to present the lexical and semantic correspondences.

The second basic principle is that the concordance will be presented in two sections: the first provides an analysis of the Syriac, providing the Greek correspondences used for each Syriac word; and the second is a reconstruction of the hypothetical Greek-Syriac lexicon.

A summary of translational information, however, will be located at the beginning of the entry, and will provide a condensed list of all Greek words corresponding to all derivations of a given Syriac root. For the article "ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ" the translational information is summarized as follows:

ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ	(i) οἴκημα (ii) οἰκία (iii) οἶκος
ܒ݁ܰܪ ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ	(i) οἰκεῖος (ii) οἰκέτης
ܪܰܒ݁ ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ	(i) οἰκονόμος (ii) [οἰκονομέω]
ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܝܳܐ	(i) οἰκιακός (ii) οἰκεῖος (iii) οἰκετεία (iv) οἰκέτης
ܪܰܒ݁ܽܘܬ݂ ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ	(i) οἰκονομία

Entries formed by the status constructus ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ are fully presented in the articles of the *genitive* respectively, but are given by a simple list in the article "ܒ݁ܰܝܬ݁ܳܐ":

ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܐܰܣܺܝ̈ܪܶܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܓ݁ܰܙܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܐܰܪܟ݁ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܙܰܘܓ݁ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܰܟ݂ܣܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܩܒ݂ܽܘܪܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܳܘܬ݁ܒ݂ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܽܘܩܦ݂ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܰܟ݂ܬ݁ܒ݂ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܰܥܡܽܘܕ݂ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܢܽܘܗܪܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܦ݁ܳܐܪ̈ܶܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܦ݁ܳܚܕ݂ܳܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܩܳܘܕ݂ܫܶܐ. ܒ݁ܶܝܬ݂ ܡܰܥܒ݁ܳܐ.

The root √ܒܘܬ (ܒ݂ܳܬ = αὐλίζομαι Mt 21:17; Lk 21:37) is a separate entry in Brockelmann's lexicon and in the future concordance.

The Syriac-Greek list gives an extract of the Greek-Syriac lexicon from the perspective of a single Syriac root. This reduced perspective shows the root-to-root correspondence and the correspondence of word formation at a single glance. The Roman numbers will be

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[12] For the remaining NT writings the present writer has provisional retroversions at his disposal.

attached to the single Syriac citations in the analytical section of the future concordance to refer to the Greek background of a given key word (according to the model of Hatch and Redpath's concordance of the Septuagint and the Leiden concordance of the Peshitta).

The information drawn from the translational Syriac-Greek summary at the beginning of an article is restricted to the single roots, thus suppressing translational information about different Syriac renderings of the same Greek word. It is the Greek-Syriac lexicon which opens the full translational perspective by assembling complete Greek-Syriac information. In fact this part is a Greek-Syriac index of the analytical part. The translator(s) had to note all Syriac correspondences of a given Greek word, to which they probably added correspondences of idiomatic phraseology; occasionally rather than consistently they quoted where within the biblical books the entries occurred. The Eusebian sections in the Gospels and the stichoi-numbers in the Apostolos offered an unfailing system of reference and were introduced into the Harklean manuscripts from the Greek model of the version. A page of the translator's Greek-Syriac lexicon may have looked like the following list:

οἰκεῖος   (i) ܒܰܝܬܳܝܳܐ Eph 2:19; 1 Tim 5:8; (ii) ܒܰܪ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ Gal 6:10

οἰκέτης   (i) ܒܰܝܬܳܝܳܐ Acts 10:7; (ii) ܒܰܪ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ Lk 16:13; Rom 14:4; (iii) ܥܰܒܕܳܐ 1 Pet 2:18

οἰκετεία   ܒܰܝܬܳܝܽܘܬܳܐ Mt 24:45

οἰκέω   always √ܥܡܪ

οἴκημα   ܒܰܝܬܳܐ Acts 12:7

οἰκητήριον   ܒܶܝܬ ܡܰܥܡܪܳܐ 2 Cor 5:2; Jude 6

οἰκία   always ܒܰܝܬܳܐ

οἰκιακός   ܒܰܝܬܳܝܳܐ Mt 10:25, 36

οἰκοδεσποτέω ܗܘܳܐ ܡܳܪܶܐ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ 1 Tim 5:14

οἰκοδεσπότης ܡܳܪܶܗ ܕܒܰܝܬܳܐ Mt 10:25; Lk 22:11/ ܡܳܪܶܐ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ Mt 13:27, 52; 20:1, 11; 21:33; 24:43; Mk 14:14; Lk 12:39; 13:25; 14:21

οἰκοδομέω   always √ܒܢܐ

οἰκοδομή   always ܒܶܢܝܳܢܳܐ

οἰκοδόμος   ܒܰܢܳܝܳܐ Acts 4:11

οἰκονομέω   ܗܘܳܐ ܪܰܒ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ Lk 16:2

οἰκονομία   (i) ܪܰܒܽܘܬ ܒܰܝܬܽܘܬܳܐ Lk 16:2, 3, 4; (ii) ܡܕܰܒܪܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ 1 Cor 9:17; Eph 1:10; 3:2, 9

οἰκονόμος   (i) ܪܰܒ ܒܰܝܬܳܐ/ܘܰܪܒܰܝܬܳܐ Lk 12:42; 16:1, 3, 8; Rom 16:23; 1 Cor 4:1, 2; Titus 1:7; 1 Pet 4:10; (ii) ܐܰܦܶܛܪܽܘܦܳܐ Gal 4:2

οἶκος   always ܒܰܝܬܳܐ

οἰκουμένη   always ܬܺܒܶܝܠ ܐܰܪܥܳܐ

This list constructed from the Greek-Syriac correspondences gives full translational information including the different renderings of the single Greek words. For example,

οἰκονομία is rendered by ܐܠܗܐ ܟܝܠܐ ܘܟܝܠ in the Gospels, but by ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ in the Pauline letters (on semantic grounds). From this list we also learn that οἰκέτης can be rendered by ܥܒܕܐ.

1.2 Approaching the Greek Model of the Harklean Version[13]

The special attention paid to the translational analysis in the analytical concordance of the Harklean New Testament requires an explicit justification of the claimed level of accessibility to the Greek model by retroversion. From the very beginning of the project it was clear that the general limitations[14] imposed on Syriac in representing Greek would affect the detailed restoration of the Greek model. However, the translator's thorough principle of "mirror translation," weakens these limitations and allows for a retroversion which is detailed enough to serve the translational perspective of the concordance. The actual possibility of retroversion is closely connected with the historical setting at the version's origin and with the philological principles adopted by the translator. Decisive help, however, to restore the Greek model comes from the fact that Greek manuscripts survived which are closely related to this model.

1.2.1 The Historical Setting

In the second decade of the 7th century the Sassanids invaded the Byzantine Empire and occupied Syria, Palestine (611 capture of Antioch, 613 of Damascus, 614 of Jerusalem), and Egypt (619). In 615 Persian troops reached the Bosphorus at Chalcedon and threatened Constantinople. The ongoing political and military crises forced Emperor Heraclius (610–641)[15] to strengthen the Empire by seeking to reconcile doctrinal controversies between the Christian communities (Chalcedonians and Miaphysites). In 616 this policy was successful in reconciling the schism between Syrian and Egyptian Miaphysites, which dated from the time of the Syrian Patriarch Peter of Kallinikos (581–591) and the Coptic Pope Damian (578–607).[16] After his brilliant campaigns of 622–628,[17] which caused the Sassanids to withdraw from the Eastern provinces and Egypt, the Emperor was in a powerful enough position to pursue the reconciliation of christological controversies by political pressure. In circa 631 he assembled the hierarchy of the Syriac Miaphysite Church at Mabbug to propose a

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[13] Sections 1.2 and 1.3 are based on an (unpublished) paper I read at the Third Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in April 2003. The following interpretation of the Harklean version mainly derives from the project *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* under the direction of B. Aland. I received essential further insights from my co-operation with George A. Kiraz in the comparative study of the Syriac Gospels.

[14] On these limitations see Brock, "Limitations of Syriac."

[15] On his reign see Reinink and Stolte, *The Reign of Heraclius*.

[16] On this schism and the reunion see Müller, "Damian, Papst und Patriarch von Alexandrien," and Müller, "Papst Anastasios;" on the controversy and the opponents see pp. vii–xxvi in Ebied–van Roey–Wickham eds. *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni tractatus*. The general historical context is treated by Maspero, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie;* and Frend, *Rise of the Monophysite Movement.*

[17] Howard-Johnston, "Heraclius' Persian Campaigns."

christological formula for union.[18] The rejection of the formula by the Miaphysites was followed by severe restrictions and persecutions.

Persecutions of the Syriac Miaphysites by the Chalcedonians in 598–599 during the reign of Emperor Maurice (582–602) resulted in the expulsion of Thomas of Harqel[19] (bishop of Mabbug) and several of his fellow bishops from their sees;[20] they fled to Egypt and stayed in the Enaton near Alexandria.[21] During the Persian invasion the Syrians could have returned to their former sees as the Persians now expelled the Chalcedonian clergy; but it is more likely that the Syrians stayed in Egypt to reunite with the Egyptian Miaphysites and to accomplish the vast translation project they started in the Enaton.[22] This reunion and this translation project were the last participations of the Syrian Miaphysites in "ecumenical" Byzantine activities before Syria/Palestine and Egypt were lost to the Arabs shortly after Heraclius' death. Thomas of Harqel was involved in both projects. His excellent Greek education qualified him not only for the translation work but also to serve his Church on the "ecumenical" stage. He doubtless could speak Greek fluently and was the leading figure in the negotiations with the Egyptian Miaphysites and with the Chalcedonians.

1.2.2 The Translation Project and Its Ecumenical Dimension

The translation project of the Old and New Testaments resulted in the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean version. Both translations were prepared by the same team (headed by Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harqel), at the same location (the Enaton) and were based on identical philological principles. Their outward appearance is dominated by the extensive use of critical signs inside the text (asterisks/obeloi) and of Greek and Syriac words in the margins. It was an official project inaugurated and supervised by Patriarch Athanasius I (Gammala).[23]

A Greek "ecumenical" perspective of the project is reflected by the Greek canon of biblical books as well as by the adoption of a "mirror translation," which gives a calque of the Greek original. The intention was not to produce a *better* Syriac New Testament version

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[18] Barhebraeus, *Eccl. Hist.* I, 50 = vol. 1, 271–73 and Michael Syrus, *Chronicon* xi, 3 = vol. 3, 409–410, record this meeting, on which Hage, "Athanasios Gammala."

[19] Gwynn, "Thomas Harklensis."

[20] The leading figure of the Chalcedonians in this persecution was Domitian, the emperor's nephew and bishop of Melitene; see Honigmann, "Two Metropolitans."

[21] The Enaton was a monastic district nine miles S.W. of Alexandria, a conglomeration of autonomous monasteries and cells. Its population was of international provenance. Famous Miaphysite refugees were Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus of Antioch after his deposition (518), who died in Egypt and was buried in the Enaton. See Atiya ed. *Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 3 (1991): 954–58.

[22] According to the *subscriptions* of the Harklean version the work was executed "at the Enaton of (i.e. near) Alexandria, the great city, in the holy Convent of the Antonines … in the year 927 of Alexander, in the fourth indiction" (i.e. CE 615/16); see Zuntz, *Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, 13–18 and 24–26. The subscriptions of the Syro-Hexapla refer to the progress of the work between 615 and 617; see Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla*, 36–44.

[23] On this patriarch see Hage, "Athanasios Gammala."

but to adopt the Greek texts themselves. The creation of the Harklean and the Syro-Hexapla certainly responded to the challenge of reunion, and was designed to supply the Syrians with tools for theological and dogmatic discussion. In fact it was the *Greek* original of these tools the Syrians used in their discussions and negotiations; the Syriac adaptation probably was the official inner-Syriac promulgation of the "ecumenical" texts. As the Harklean was completed in 615/616 and the Syro-Hexapla in 619 the adoption of the Greek texts and their Syriac promulgation may have been stimulated by the reunion with the Egyptian Miaphysites of the year 616[24] and not by the more general perspective of a union with the Chalcedonians.

1.2.3 The Comparative Design of the Translation

Besides the decisive turn to the Greek it is also the *comparative* presentation of Greek textual traditions (in Syriac translation) which reflects the "ecumenical" perspective of the project. This comparative presentation can be traced best in the Syro-Hexapla which is a translation of Origen's Septuagint text, of the fifth column of his Hexapla. The Hexapla can duly be described as a comparative edition. Its first column gives the Hebrew text, the second the transcription of the Hebrew in Greek letters, followed by the translations of Aquila and Symmachus, Origen's revision of the LXX, and the translation of Theodotion. The Syrians did not translate the Hebrew text, because only Greek texts were of "ecumenical" currency. They relied on the philological authority of Origen and his LXX which was handed down by Pamphilus and Eusebius and carefully quoted the additions and omissions (by asterisks and obeloi) of the LXX compared with the Hebrew text. The intention of the Syro-Hexapla is to adopt Origen's text in full and represent the other three Greek texts by quotation, thus preserving the Greek portions of the Hexapla *en miniature*. The Syro-Hexapla is a compressed comparative translation of the four different Greek Old Testament versions extant in the Hexapla which reduces the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion to marginal quotations.

The comparative purpose is also the ruling principle of the Harklean version. The *subscriptions* explicitly say that Greek manuscripts were used to "compare" the text, but nothing is said about the character or origin of the texts compared (while in the Syro-Hexapla the marginal quotations are labelled with *Olaf*, *Semkath*, and *Taw* according to the translators Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion respectively). From the present-day text-critical perspective one can say that comparison in the Harklean version (grosso modo) refers to an early Byzantine text of the New Testament which was adopted for the main text of the version, and to non-Byzantine texts which were represented by selected readings in the margins. Thomas' version, however, is of explicit Byzantine character only in the Gospels; in the Corpus Paulinum this character is reduced and its existence in the Acts–Catholic Epistles has been doubted. To understand the uneven textual character of Thomas' text we have to take into account the gradual development of the Byzantine text in the

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[24] The first time suggested by Gwynn, "Thomas Harklensis," 267.

different parts of the New Testament canon. At the beginning of the 7th century this text was developed most in the Gospels, less in St Paul, and hardly at all in Acts and the Catholic Epistles.[25]

Of course the Syrian Miaphysites had no knowledge of texttypes as modern critics have, but they were aware of the non-uniformity of the Greek text. For Thomas the basic contrast between text and margin was the one of "ecclesiastical" and "non-ecclesiastical," "ecumenical" and "non-ecumenical" texts; for modern critics it is the one of different texttypes. The Syrian Miaphysites knew that the Greek text offered different textual traditions which should be presented according to their "ecumenical" or "marginal" dissemination.

The Greek model of the Harklean version we can expect to be a carefully chosen "ecumenical" text. But how should we identify this "ecumenical" text which certainly was of varying textual character in the individual parts of the New Testament? How did Thomas identify it? Thomas' choice was not based on text-critical considerations, but on authority. With the exception of the Gospels the Byzantine text of his time was too undeveloped to be identified by him as an undisputed ecclesiastical authority. As Origen's Hexapla had no New Testament correspondence, the Syrians themselves had to select the authoritative texts. The authority behind their selected texts is likely to be identical with that behind the Syro-Hexapla: the textual tradition of Caesarea represented by Eusebius, Pamphilus, and Origen.

1.3 The Philological Principles of the Harklean Version

The search for a Greek New Testament text that would be acceptable in an ecumenical context prompted the Syriac Miaphysites to examine and compare existing textual traditions and to adopt the high standards of Alexandrian philology. This investigation enabled the Syrians to select approved Greek texts and avoid relying on arbitrary or accidental sources. Their expertise in selecting Greek manuscripts is now the primary means by which we can identify the Harklean's Greek model. The second means is the translator's philological procedure for presenting the textual traditions.

1.3.1 Revising the Philoxenian Version

The translator of the Harklean refers to his foundational philological principle in the subscriptions of his version. He declares his translation to be a "revision" of the Philoxenian version (of 507/508), executed with *three* Greek manuscripts in the Gospels, *two* in the Corpus Paulinum, and *one* only in Acts–Catholic Epistles.[26] What does this basic principle mean? How did the "revision" work?

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[25] This makes the Harklean version give valuable information about the formation of the Byzantine texttype in the individual parts of the New Testament at the beginning of the 7th century; see Wachtel, *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe.*

[26] Zuntz, *Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, 13–33.

The adoption of a *Syriac* text to be revised by Greek manuscripts seems to undermine the Greek "ecumenical" perspective of the version. But in fact the opposite is true. According to the Harklean *subscription* to the Corpus Paulinum (which includes the *subscription* to the Philoxenian version) the latter is of Caesarean provenance by its underlying Greek text for which an explicit affiliation from Pamphilus is reported.[27] Although this provenance is not mentioned in the *subscriptions* to the Gospels and Acts/Catholic Epistles, the Caesarean affiliation of the whole version or at least of the Praxapostolos could easily be taken for granted. An explicit Caesarean imprint on the Philoxenian (and consequently on the Harklean) are the Eusebian sections, canon tables, and the letter to Carpian in the Gospels and the "Euthalian apparatus" in the Praxapostolos.

Provided the Caesarean affiliation of the Philoxenian was not in question for the Syrians, and that this affiliation was the reason for making this earlier version the starting point for the new, we can be sure that the Harklean revision could not introduce substantial alterations to the Philoxenian version. It is likely that the revision actually was a check and update[28] of the Philoxenian Syriac in order to produce a "mirror translation;" it also introduced additional Greek textual materials into the existing version but kept them separate from the Greek substance of the version by either quoting them in the margins or by putting them with critical signs (asterisks and obeloi). Regarding the purpose of these quotations there is no substantial difference between text and margin. Additions and omissions could be marked in the main text, while alternative readings had to be placed in the margins. This procedure is intended to include and to distinguish at the same time. It was important from the "ecumenical" perspective to offer a maximum of Greek traditions without mixing and distorting their characteristic textual features.

From our knowledge of the Harklean Greek model (see §1.4) we are in a good position to observe the reviser's principle of distinguishing between the various textual traditions he adopted for his work. We can see that neither the marginal quotations nor the words put with asterisks were part of the original Greek model.[29] This implies the consistent use of *one*

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[27] According to Zuntz, *Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, 23, the Greek model of the Philoxenian stated that it was compared (collated) with an exemplar in the Library of Pamphilus of Caesarea which was written by Pamphilus himself. Zuntz points to the manuscripts H015 and 88 (Gregory–Aland) with the same reference to Pamphilus and his library and to the "Euthalian" subscriptions of Acts and Catholic Epistles in the manuscripts 181, 623, 1836, and 1898. This reference testifies to the reputation and authority of Pamphilus and his library; it does not necessarily testify to the existence of a local Caesarean texttype. For such a local texttype Zuntz argues in chapter III of *Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, especially pp. 113–21.

[28] This interpretation is already given by Brock, "The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harclean Problem."

[29] The comparative material is occasionally attested by the *descendants* of the Greek model. As these descendants are late 10th/15th cent. manuscripts (see below in §1.4) this attestation is mainly due to the influence of the Byzantine text. — The obelos is used for the sake of translation technique to mark Syriac words which are not matching the Greek *Vorlage* but are necessary for an intelligible rendering of the Greek.

single authoritative Greek manuscript for revising the Philoxenian (that is, producing the Harklean), while additional Greek manuscripts are the source of the comparative quotations in the Harklean margins.[30] This knowledge of the revisional procedure cannot be drawn from an interpretation of the Harklean *subscriptions* but solely from a text-critical investigation. Thomas' strict adoption of a single Greek manuscript for the main text of his version is one more essential condition for the identification of the Greek model.

1.3.2 The Substantial Identity of the Philoxenian and the Harklean

Probably to bring his own new version in parallel with the Caesarean–Palestinian origin of the Syro-Hexapla, Thomas adopted the Philoxenian as the starting point for his work. An essential result of this adoption was that the underlying Greek texttype was not changed while the translation was being revised with Greek manuscripts. Selecting a Greek model of identical or similar type was the best way to avoid substantial changes. As the Philoxenian was created more than one hundred years ago, Thomas' revision may also have introduced minor modifications to the Greek text behind the Philoxenian according to the actual Greek model he selected; comparative material, however, he drew from manuscripts of different types. The Syriac translation was thoroughly updated, and developed from being a fairly exact rendering into a "mirror translation."

A proof of the substantial identity of both versions can be given by comparing the Greek model of the Harklean with Syriac quotations of the Philoxenian extant in writings of Philoxenos of Mabbug. The result of this comparison is presented below.[31] Although there is a total of about 330 verses in the *Corpus Paulinum* attested by quotations of Philoxenos, only 19 differences could be traced in the Greek background of both versions (provided the quotations of Philoxenos are reliable representatives of the version). In twelve cases the Harklean is opposed to the Philoxenian (that is, the Philoxenian is revised by the Harklean); in seven more cases (underlined in the list below) the Philoxenian is revised but retained in the margin of the Harklean. A characteristic feature of the Philoxenian Syriac is numerous anticipations of the Harklean syntax and vocabulary as well as the reproduction of Peshitta elements.

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[30] In Acts and the Catholic Epistles the Philoxenian is said to be compared with *one* manuscript only. According to the interpretation offered here this manuscript is the one Thomas used for the comparative quotations, not the authoritative one. If there were really no *second* manuscript besides the authoritative one, the marginal quotations in Acts and the Catholic Epistles would all derive from the Philoxenian. But this is very unlikely because of the explicit "Western" type of these quotations in Acts. In the Catholic Epistles, however, the Harklean margin actually offers quotations from the text published by Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible*. These textual facts are difficult to explain conclusively, because Thomas' marginal quotations are drawn from Greek sources, not from Syriac. The impact of revision on the Greek substance of the Philoxenian in the Catholic Epistles could have been stronger than elsewhere in the Harklean New Testament.

[31] The quotations are presented in Aland–Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*.

The following writings of Philoxenos are among those composed after 507/508 CE, when the new version was created: Ph[Comm.Jh] = Philoxenian quotation according to the edition of de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Commentaire du prologue johannique.* — Ph[Comm.Mt.Lk] = Philoxenian quotation according to the edition of Watt, *Philoxenus of Mabbug.* — Ph[Ep] = Philoxenian quotation according to the edition of de Halleux, *Lettre aux moines de Senoun.* — Ph[De trin] = Philoxenian quotation according to the edition of Vaschalde, *Philoxeni Mabbugensis tractatus de trinitate et incarnatione.* — Ph[Euthal] = Philoxenian quotation drawn from "Euthalian material" preserved in Ms BL Add. 17,193; cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, 989–1002 and de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie*, page 125, note 42.

Hk = Harklean version, Hk[mg] = Syriac marginal reading of the Harklean version, Hk[gr] = the Greek model of the Harklean version.

Rom 1:2 NA[27] Hk[gr] προφητῶν αὐτοῦ] Ph[Comm.Jh] 40,13; 50,22; 139,14 *om.* αὐτοῦ — Rom 2:15 NA[27] Ph[Comm.Jh] 96,6 τὸ ἔργον … γραπτόν] Hk[gr] τὰ ἔργα … γραπτά — Rom 4:3 (citation of Gen 15:6) NA[27] Hk[gr] δέ] Ph[Comm.Jh] 98,15 γάρ — Rom 9:12 NA[27] Hk[gr] ἐρρέθη] Ph[De trin] 211,12 + γάρ (= Hk[mg], syr[p]) — Rom 9:20 NA[27] Hk[gr] ἀνταποκρινόμενος] Ph[Comm.Jh] 90,24 ἀποκρινόμενος — 1 Cor 3:17 NA[27] Hk[gr] τοῦτον] Ph[Ep] 4,1 αὐτόν (= Hk[mg]) — 1 Cor 11:24 NA[27] Hk[gr] ἔκλασεν] Ph[Ep] 5,24 + δοὺς (or ἐδίδου) τοῖς μαθηταῖς (αὐτοῦ); cf. Mt 26:26 — 1 Cor 12:2 NA[27] Hk[gr] ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε] Ph[Comm.Jh] 219,6 ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܕܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ is not matching the Greek text — 1 Cor 12:13 NA[27] ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν] Hk[gr.txt] ἓν πόμα ἐπ. and Hk[mg.graece] πόμα ¦ Ph[Comm.Jh] 214,22 εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐπ. — 1 Cor 12:27 NA[27] Hk[mg] Ph[Comm.Jh] 199,5 211,17 ἐκ μέρους] Hk[gr] ἐκ μέλους — 1 Cor 15:46 NA[27] Hk[gr] ψυχικόν] Ph[Comm.Jh] 50,7 χοικόν (≠ syr[p]; cf. vv. 47, 48, 49) — 1 Cor 15:50 NA[27] Hk[gr] βασιλείαν θεοῦ] Ph[Comm.Jh] 169,15 β. οὐρανοῦ (= Syr[p]) — Gal 4:7 NA[27] Hk[gr] Ph[Ep] 28,28 εἶ δοῦλος … υἱός … υἱός … κληρονόμος] Ph[Comm.Jh] 241,25 εἶ δοῦλοι … υἱοί … υἱοί … κληρονόμοι (= Hk[mg]) — Gal 6:15 Hk[gr] ἰσχύει] NA[27] Ph[Euthal] fol. 3v ἐστιν (= Hk[mg]) — 1 Tim 3:16 NA[27] ὅς Hk[gr] ὅ] Ph[Comm.Jh] 65,1 ὅς (= Hk[mg]). It is not evident whether the Harklean margin ܗܘ refers to ὅς or ὅ (my interpretation is ὅς) — 1 Tim 6:15 NA[27] Hk[gr] μακάριος] Ph[Comm.Jh] 229,7 μακάριος καὶ εὐλογητός (cf. Syr[p]) — Titus 3:5 NA[27] Hk[gr] διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας] Ph[Comm.Jh] 34,28 *om.* λουτροῦ (the omission is not attested in Greek or Syriac) — Heb 8:9 NA[27] Ph[Comm.Jh] 248,1.8 Hk[mg] ἐποίησα] Hk[gr] διεθέμην — Heb 11:2 NA[27] Hk[gr] οἱ πρεσβύτεροι] πάντες οἱ π. Ph[Comm.Jh] 149,11 (not attested in Greek and Syriac).

The philological principles of the Harklean version are (1) revision of the Philoxenian based on a Greek manuscript of identical or similar texttype; (2) the introduction of comparative material taken from Greek manuscripts of different texttype; (3) strict separation of the comparative material from the main body of the text; (4) a new ("mirror") translation of the substantial Greek text common to both versions. These principles contributed to the protection of the selected Greek traditions in general and to the protection of the Greek model from being mixed with comparative material in particular. These principles paved the way for the recognition and restoration of the Greek model to be possible even after almost fifteen hundred years.

1.4 The Identification of the Greek Model (Hk^gr)

To identify the Greek model of the Harklean we have to apply ourselves to: (1) a group of manuscripts related to this model, (2) the Greek margin of the version, and (3) the translation technique ("mirror translation").

1.4.1 The Manuscripts Related to the Greek Model (^GR2138)

The original Greek model of the Harklean is lost. But there is a group of four 10–15th century manuscripts[32] which by their archetype are closely related to the Greek model of the Harklean. This archetype (Z, ca. 6th/8th century) and the model Hk^gr (ca. 5th/6th century) go back to a 5th/6th century ancestor (U). The reason of the group's *indirect* relation to Hk^gr is a number of significant disagreements between Z and Hk^gr; their significant agreements, however, give proof of relationship. The following list gives (almost) all exclusive agreements between ^GR2138 and Hk^gr in the *Corpus Paulinum*:

> The lemma is taken from NA[27], the variant from Hk/^GR2138.
> See NTSyr II, 1 p. 25; II, 2 p. 33: II, 3 pp. 44–45.

Rom 4:16   τῷ σπέρματι] τῷ πιστεύοντι — Rom 14:11 τῷ θεῷ] τῷ κυρίῳ — Rom 16:15 πάντας] *om.* (in Syr^h excluded from the main text by asterisk) — 1 Cor 5:13 ὁ θεὸς κρινεῖ] κρινεῖ ὁ θεός — 1 Cor 7:30 οἱ χαίροντες] *add* ἐν κτήσεσιν — 1 Cor 8:5 ὥσπερ] *add* οὖν — 1 Cor 12:28 γλωσσῶν] *add* ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν — 2 Cor 3:2 ἡ ἐπιστολή] ἡ γὰρ ἐπιστολή — 2 Cor 5:11 τοῦ κυρίου] τοῦ θεοῦ — 2 Cor 6:4 ἐν ἀνάγκαις] *add* ἐν διωγμοῖς — 2 Cor 7:8 ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ] ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ — 2 Cor 8:10 ἐν τούτῳ] ἐν τούτοις — 2 Cor 10:13 μέτρου] μέτρῳ — 2 Cor 12:16 ἐγώ] *add* δέ — Gal 1:20 τοῦ θεοῦ] κυρίου — Gal 5:3 ποιῆσαι] πληρῶσαι — Gal 5:14 ἑνὶ λόγῳ] ὀλίγῳ — Eph 2:10 ἐν αὐτοῖς] ἐν αὐτῷ — Eph 2:10 ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων] *add* καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν — Phil 1:10 ἵνα ἦτε] *add* τέλειοι καί — Phil 3:12 Χριστοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου — Col 2:19 κεφαλήν] *add* Χριστόν — Col 3:24 κυρίου] θεοῦ — 1 Thess 1:2 τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε] πάντοτε τῷ θεῷ — 1 Thess 2:14 τοῦ θεοῦ] τοῦ Χριστοῦ — 1 Thess 4:1 ἀδελφοί] *add* μου — 1 Thess 4:13 θέλομεν] θέλω — 1 Thess 5:3 εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια] εἰρήνην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν — 2 Thess 1:11 τῆς κλήσεως ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν] τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν ὁ θεός — 2 Thess 3:3 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ] ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ — 1 Tim 1:9 ἀσεβέσι] καὶ ἀσεβέσι — 2 Tim 1:18 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διηκόνησεν μοι] μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διηκόνησεν — 2 Tim 3:6 ἁμαρτίαις] *add* πολλαῖς — 2 Tim 3:6 ἐπιθυμίαις] *add* καὶ ἡδοναῖς — 2 Tim 4:1 διμαρτύρομαι] *add* οὖν — Titus 1:3 ἐστὶν ἀληθής] ἀληθής ἐστιν — Titus 2:9 εὐαρέστους] εὐχαρίστους — Heb 1:2 ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου] ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων — Heb 4:10 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων] ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων — Heb 7:11 ἔτι] ἔστι — Heb 8:9 ἐποίησα] διεθέμην — Heb 9:1 τε] δέ — Heb 10:1 οὐδέποτε] αἳ οὐδέποτε — Heb 10:17

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[32] The minuscules 1505 (12th cent.), 1611 (10th cent., formerly assigned to the 12th cent.), 2138 (CE 1072), and 2495 (15th cent.). The siglum for this group is ^GR2138. It was discovered by Amphoux, "La paranté textuelle;" "Quelques témoins grecs;" and independently by Aland, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 1.

καί[1]] τότε εἴρηκεν καί — Heb 10:9 ἀδελφοὶ παρρησίαν] παρρησίαν ἀδελφοί — Heb 10:36 κομίζησθε] *add* ἕκαστος — Heb 11:11 ἔλαβεν] *add* εἰς τὸ τεκνῶσαι — Heb 11:29 διέβησαν] *add* οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ — Heb 12:4 ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι] ἀγωνιζόμενοι

As [GR]2138 is a group of rather late manuscripts it is affected by the influence of the Byzantine text. In accordance with the development of the Byzantine text in the individual parts of the New Testament [GR]2138 is most consistent in the Catholic Epistles. In the Corpus Paulinum it is often divided by this influence; for the Gospels the consistency of the group cannot sufficiently be checked as the Gospels are extant only in 1505 and 2495. The Byzantine text certainly did not only affect the members of [GR]2138 (and the original text of their archetype), but also the Harklean version itself (see below in note 38). This influence of the Byzantine text is the reason for the general distortion of the textual traditions involved. It is a heavy charge for the reconstruction of the original text of the Harklean version.[33]

Usually the Harklean "mirror translation" is a transparent reflection of the Greek text of the model Hk[gr]; additional guidance comes from the texts of [GR]2138. Even the total disagreement of [GR]2138 and Hk[gr] seldom leaves Hk[gr] in darkness, as other manuscripts can offer a matching Greek text. With very few exceptions this guidance results in a satisfactory retroversion, although minor details cannot be traced with certainty and should be marked as uncertain in a printed retroversion. Identification of the Greek model requires full collation of [GR]2138 and of the early manuscript tradition. Fortunately the resources and projects of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research have provided the necessary detailed information for the retroversions of the Corpus Paulinum and the major Catholic Epistles.[34]

Two important insights derive from the attempts of retroversion. First, that the accessibility of the Greek model is not limited to individual New Testament writings or corpora of New Testament texts. At a minimum the whole Praxapostolos of the Greek model is accessible through the members of [GR]2138, and the Gospels at least in part. Secondly, that the archetype **Z** of [GR]2138, Hk[gr] itself and **U** (the archetype of Hk[gr] and **Z**) represent three codices of similar textual character. This clearly reflects their common background and membership of the Greek model used for the translation when taken in the broader context of the history of the New Testament text.[35] It is this common background

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[33] Another reason for the distortion of the textual relation between members of [GR]2138, Hk and Hk[gr] and the Greek model is the supplementation of codices by portions of different texttype. In later copies of the formerly supplemented codices the supplement becomes invisible and can be traced only by collation. 2138 was supplemented in all *Rom–1 Cor*, and 2495 in *Phil–Tit*.

[34] The volumes of *Text und Textwert* published by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research (see below in the bibliography) are extremely helpful for identifying [GR]2138 in the different parts of the New Testament. As this project is based on *Teststellen*, full collations are necessary to confirm the relationships of the group members.

[35] For the Catholic Epistles this context was studied by Aland in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 1, 41–90 and by Spencer–Wachtel–Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis."

and membership which enabled the Greek model of the Harklean to be traced in a group of manuscripts *indirectly* related to this model.

1.4.2 The Greek Margin

The following list gives the complete Greek margin of the Harklean Corpus Paulinum (excluding, however, the numerous proper nouns).[36] It presents the Greek margin and the Syriac text to which it is attached. In an earlier stage of the preparation of this article I believed that it was an extract of the translator's Greek-Syriac lexicon. The obvious purpose for presenting Greek words and expressions which were difficult to mirror in Syriac in order to illustrate and justify the Syriac rendering seemed to originate from the translator himself. An additional original feature seemed to be the presence and consistency of this material in the early Harklean manuscripts. But when I realized the "massoretic" imprint of this material, especially represented by the glosses and transliterations of the Greek, I changed my mind. The Greek margin is more likely to derive from those who transmitted, checked, and studied the Harklean version. Although of secondary character, the Greek margin reflects the earliest lexicographical work on the Harklean already attested for the 8th century in Ms Plut. I.40 of the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Florence), dated Kanun I 1068 AGr (= Dec. CE 756).

   Sigla: ms J = ms syr. 37 of St Mark Monastery (Jerusalem); ms O = ms New Coll. 333 (Oxford); in ms C = ms Add. 1700 of the University Library Cambridge; in this ms no margin (neither Syriac nor Greek) is extant. Usually the marginalia are included in the manuscripts J and O. To those which are extant in one manuscript only the siglum "J" or "O" is attached. — Glosses and Syriac transliterations of the Greek are not explicitly given but indicated by "+ gloss" and "+ transliteration." For 1 Cor 2:14 I give the transliteration for illustration.

Romans

1:13 (ἄχρι) τοῦ δεῦρο/ܠܗܿܕܐ (ܕܪܡܐ)

1:20 καὶ θειότης/ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ

1:29 πονηρία/ܒܝܫܘܬܐ

1:29 κακία/ܒܝܫܬܐ

1:29 κακοηθίας (*sic*)/ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ

2:1 ὦ (ms O)/ܐܘ

2:3 ὦ (ms O)/ܐܘ

4:17 κατέναντι/ܩܒܠ

5:20 παρεισῆλθεν/ܐܬܬܘܣܦܬ ̄ ܥܠ

6:3 ὅσοι/ܘܟܡ

6:9 κυριεύει/ܡܫܬܠܛ

7:13 (τοῦ) ἀγαθοῦ/ܚܰܝܒܳ

8:7 εἰς (θεόν) (ms O + gloss)/ܟܠܰܟܕܳܗܐ

8:11 θνητά/ܡܳܝܽܘܬܳܐ

8:15 ἀββα (ms O + ὁ πατήρ)/ܐܰܒܳܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܰܒܳܐ

8:19 ἀποκαραδοκία/ܡܣܰܟܳܝܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ

8:25 δι'/ܚܠܳܦ

8:26 ὑπερεντυγχάνει/ܢܳܥܶܐ ܚܠܳܦ

9:4 καὶ (> ms J) διαθῆκαι/ܘܕܺܝܰܬܶܩܰܣ

9:28 συντελῶν/ܡܰܡܳܝܶܟ ܓ̇ܡܰܪ

11:7 ἐπωρώθησαν/ܐܶܬܥܰܘܰܪܘ

11:8 κατανύξεως (*sic*)/ܕܰܐܡܺܝܢܽܘܬܳܐ

11:12 καὶ ἥττημα/ܘܚܽܘܣܪܳܢܳܐ

11:17 πιότητος/ܕܫܽܘܡܢܳܐ

11:22 καὶ ἀποτομίαν/ܘܓܰܙܺܝܪܽܘܬܳܐ

11:33 ὦ (ms O)/ܐܳܘ

11:33 ὡς/ܐܰܝܟ ܐܰܟܡܳܐ

12:3 ὡς/ܐܰܝܟ

12:13 ταῖς χρείαις/ܒܰܣܢܺܝܩܽܘܬܳܐ

13:4 φορεῖ/ܛܥܺܝܢ

13:6 προσκαρτεροῦντες/ܐܰܡܺܝܢܺܝܢ

13:7 τὰς ὀφειλάς/ܘܰܚܰܘ̈ܒܳܬܳܐ

14:5 πληροφορείσθω/ܦܟܰܢܕܽܘܦܳܐ ܢܶܗܘܶܐ

15:14 ἀλλήλους/ܠܰܚ̈ܕܳܕܶܐ

15:20 φιλοτιμούμενον/ܡܶܬܚܰܦܰܛ

15:23 ἐν τοῖς κλίμασιν/ܒܰܦܢ̈ܝܳܬܳܐ

16:18 ἀκάκων/ܠܳܐ ܒܺܝ̈ܫܶܐ/ܘܰܐܟ̈ܬܳܢܶܐ

16:19 τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν/ܕܥܰܡ ܘܰܚܠܳܦ

1 Corinthians

2:14 ἀνακρίνεται (ms O + transliteration ܐܢܩܪܺܝܢܶܣܬܰܝ)/ܡܶܬܕܺܝܢ

3:10 ἀρχιτέκτων/ܐܽܘܡܳܢ ܢܰܓ̈ܳܪܶܐ

4:3 ἢ ἀπὸ [NA²⁷ ὑπὸ] ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας (mss JO + gloss; ms O + transliteration)/ ܐܳܘ ܡܶܢ ܝܰܘܡܳܐ ܐ̱ܢܳܫܳܝܳܐ

4:15 παιδαγωγούς/ܦܳܐܝܕܰܓ̈ܘܓܶܐ

5:7 ἐτύθη/ܐܶܬܢܟܶܣ

6:9 μαλακοί/ܡܚܰܒ̈ܠܶܐ

6:18 ἴδιον/ܕܺܝܠܶܗ

6:19 ναός/ܗܰܝܟܠܳܐ ܠܰܢ/ܕܗܰܝܟܠܳܐ

7:6 οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν/ܠܳܐ ܐܰܝܟ ܕܰܚܠܳܦ ܦܽܘܩܕܳܢܳܐ

7:25 γνώμην/ܡܰܠܟܳܐ

7:29 συνεσταλμένος/ܡܙܰܥܰܪ

7:40 γνώμην (ms O + transliteration)/ܡܰܕܥܳܐ

9:2 σφραγίς/ܚܬܡܳܐ

9:18 θύσω [NA²⁷ θήσω] (ms J)/ܐܶܣܝܡ

9:26 πυκτεύω/ܡܬܟܬܫ

10:2 εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν/ܒܡܘܫܐ

10:5 κατεστρώθησαν (mss JO + gloss)/ܐܶܬܒܰܕܰܪ

10:11 κατεπήντησεν/ܩܶܨ (ms J); ἀπήντησεν (sic)/ܩܶܨ (ms O) [NA²⁷ κατήντηκεν]

10:25 μάκελλων [= μάκελλον ? NA²⁷ ἐν μακέλλῳ]/ܘܰܒܡܰܩܶܠܘܢ

11:19 δεῖ/ܙܳܕܶܩ

11:19 αἱρέσεις (ms O + gloss)/ܗܶܖܣܺܝܣ

12:3 ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν/ܘܰܫܢܺܝܩܳܐ ܗܘ ܝܶܫܘܥ

12:9 ἰαμάτων/ܘܰܐܣܝܳܬܳܐ

12:11 ἰδίᾳ/ܘܰܡܟܰܢܶܐ

12:13 πόμα/ܡܰܫܩܝܳܐ

12:28 εἶτα [NA²⁷ ἔπειτα]/ܟܶܢܦܰܘ

13:1 ἀλαλάζον/ܘܰܡܨܰܠܰܠ

13:10 ἔλθῃ (ms J)/ܘܶܐܡܰܬܝ

15:2 εἰ (> ms O) κατέχετε/ܐܢ ܐܰܚܺܝܕܺܝܢ ܐܢ̱ܬܘܢ

15:5 εἶτα/ܟܶܢܦܰܘ

15:32 ἐθεριομάχησα/ܐܶܬܟܰܬܫܶܬ ܥܰܡ ܚܰܝܘܳܬܳܐ

15:52 ἐν ἀτόμῳ (> ms O; mss JO + gloss)/ܒܠܐ ܡܶܬܦܰܣܩܳܢܘܬܳܐ

16:1 λογίας (sic)/ܚܘܫܒܳܢܳܐ

16:2 λογίαι (sic)/ܚܘܫܒܳܢܳܐ

16:13 κραταιοῦσθε/ܐܶܬܚܰܝܰܠܘ

16:22 μαραναθα/ܡܳܪܰܢ ܐܶܬܳܐ

2 Corinthians

1:8 ἐβαρήθημεν/ܐܶܬܝܰܩܰܪܢ

2:4 καὶ συνοχῆς/ܘܰܐܠܝܨܘܬܳܐ (sic in ms J; mss CO ܣܢܺܝܩܘܬܳܐ)

2:11 τὰ νοήματα/ܡܰܚܫܒܳܬܶܗ

2:14 θριαμβεύοντι/ܡܚܰܕܶܐ

3:1 συστατικῶν/ܡܩܰܝܡܳܢܝܳܬܳܐ

3:3 ἐν πλαξίν/ܒܠܘ̈ܚܶܐ

3:14 ἐπωρώθη [sc. τὰ νοήματα]/ܐܶܬܥܰܘܰܪ

4:11 ἀεί/ܐܰܡܺܝܢܳܐܝܬ

5:7 εἴδους (mss JO + gloss)/ܚܙܳܬܳܐ

6:3 μωμηθῇ (mss JO + gloss)/ܢܶܗܘܶܐ ܡܘܡܳܐ

6:14 ἑτεροζυγοῦντες/ܡܶܨܛܰܘܬܳܦܺܝܢ

6:15 Βελιάν [= v.l. in NA²⁷; txt Βελιάρ]/ܒܠܝܰܢ

8:3 αὐθαίρετοι/ܘܗܶܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܪܶܥܝܳܢܗܘܢ

8:5 ἠλπίσαμεν/ܘܣܰܒܰܪܢ

8:19 χειροτονηθείς (ms O + transliteration)/ܐܶܬܬܰܠܡܰܕ ܗܘܳܐ

8:20 ἁδρότητι/ܒܰܕܚܶܠ

9:4 ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει (ms O + transliteration)/ܒܩܽܘܡܳܐ

9:10 γενήματα/ܐܳܕܳܐ

10:4 καθαίρεσιν/ܣܽܘܚܳܦܳܐ

11:2 ἡρμοσάμην/ܡܰܟܰܪܬܟܽܘܢ

11:9 οὐ κατενάρκησα (ms O + gloss)/ܠܳܐ ܝܶܩܪܶܬ

11:17 (ἐν ταύτῃ) τῇ ὑποστάσει/ܩܽܘܡܳܐ ܗܳܢܳܐ ܕܶܝܢ

11:25 νυχθήμερον/ܐܺܝܡܳܡܳܐ ܘܠܺܠܝܳܐ

11:26 ἐν πόλει (ms O > ܒܰܡܕܺܝܢܬܳܐ)/ܒܰܡܕܺܝܢܳܬܳܐ

11:32 ὁ ἐθνάρχης/ܪܺܝܫ ܥܰܡܳܐ

11:32 Ἀρέτα/ܕܰܐܪܶܛܳܘܣ (mss JO + gloss)

11:33 καὶ ἔφυγον [NA²⁷ καὶ ἐξ-]/ܘܶܐܬܦܰܠܰܛܬ

12:7 σκόλοψ/ܣܶܟܬܳܐ

12:7 Σατᾶν [= v.l. in NA²⁷; txt Σατανᾶ]/ܣܳܛܳܢܳܐ

12:13 οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν/ܠܳܐ ܝܶܩܪܶܬ ܥܠܰܝܟܽܘܢ

Galatians

1:8 παρ᾿ ὅ/ܠܒܰܪ ܡܶܢ ܗܰܘ ܡܶܕܶܡ

1:13 καὶ ἐπόρθουν (mss JO + gloss)/ܘܚܳܪܶܒ ܗ݂ܘܺܝܬ

1:16 ἀνεθέμην [NA²⁷ προσαν-]/ܓܠܺܝܬ

1:18 ἱστορῆσαι/ܐܶܚܙܶܝܘܗܝ

1:21 εἰς τὰ κλίματα/ܠܰܐܬܪܰܘܳܬܳܐ

2:2 κατ᾿ ἰδίαν δέ/ܠܚܽܘܕ ܡܶܢ ܠܚܽܘܕ ܕܶܝܢ

2:4 κατασκοπῆσαι/ܢܓܰܫܽܘܢ

2:6 διαφέρει (mss JO + gloss)/ܡܦܰܪܫܺܝܢ

2:14 ἰουδαΐζειν/ܝܺܗܽܘܕܳܐܝܺܬ ܢܶܚܽܘܢ

2:18 παραβάτην/ܠܒܰܪ ܥܳܒܽܘܕܳܐ

3:24 παιδαγωγός/ܐܳܕܽܘܩܳܐ

3:24 εἰς (Χριστόν)/ܠܘܳܬ ܡܫܺܝܚܳܐ

4:1 διαφέρει/ܡܦܰܪܫ

4:6 ἀββα ὁ πατήρ/ܐܰܒܳܐ ܗܰܘ ܐܰܒܳܐ

4:16 ἀληθεύων/ܘܰܕܫܰܪܺܝܪܳܐ ܐ݈ܢܳܐ

4:19 ὠδίνω/ܡܰܚܒܶܠ ܐ݈ܢܳܐ

4:23 γεγέννηται (ms O -γένηται) /ܐܶܬܺܝܠܶܕ

6:12 εὐπροσωπῆσαι/ܠܡܶܫܦܰܪ

Ephesians

1:10 ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι/ܢܶܬܚܰܕܰܬ ܒܪܺܫܳܐ

2:2 αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου/ܥܳܠܡܳܐ ܕܥܳܠܡܳܐ

2:14 τὰ ἀμφότερα (ms O + transliteration)/ܟܽܠܗܽܘܢ ܬܪܰܝܗܽܘܢ

2:16 τοὺς ἀμφωτέρους (*sic*) (ms O + transliteration)/ܠܟܠܢܫ

2:18 οἱ ἀμφότεροι/ܐܢܘܢ

3:15 πατριά/ܐܒܗܘܬܐ

4:3 τὴν ἑνότητα/ܠܐܘܝܘܬܐ

4:9 μέρη/ܠܦܢܝܬܐ

4:14 κλυδωνιζόμενοι (mss JO + gloss)/ܘܡܫܬܩܠܝܢ

4:16 μέρους/ܡܢܬܐ

4:19 ἀπηλγηκότες/ܘܛܠܐ ܒܐܒܠܐ

4:29 τις/ܗܘ ܐܢܫ

5:4 τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα [NA²⁷ ἃ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν]/ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܙܕܩܢ

5:16 τὸν καιρόν/ܠܙܒܢܐ

5:32 εἰς (Χριστὸν καὶ) εἰς (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν)/ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܒܥܕܬܐ

6:12 ἡ πάλη/ܕܪܐ

6:12 πνευματικά/ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ

6:13 ἀντιστῆναι/ܠܡܩܡ ܠܘܩܒܠܐ

6:14 τὴν ὀσφύν/ܠܚܨܝܟܘܢ

6:14 θώρακα/ܣܪܝܢܐ

6:16 θυραιόν [NA²⁷ θυρε-]/ܫܕܝܐ

Philippians

1:10 τὰ διαφέροντα/ܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܠܝܢ

1:13 προτεριον (*sic*) [NA²⁷ πραιτωρίῳ] (ms O, not in White's edition)/ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ

3:8 σκύβαλα/ܘܦܘܪܬܐ

3:14 βραβεῖον/ܙܟܘܬܐ

3:21 εἰς τό/ܕܗܘ

4:3 συνήθλησάν μοι/ܥܡܝ ܥܡܠܝ ܐܬܟܬܫܘ

4:8 ὅσα ἐστίν/ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ

4:10 ἀνεθάλετε (ms O ἐνθάλετε)/ܐܦܪܥܬܘܢ

4:12 μεμύημαι/ܡܕܪܫ ܐܢܐ

Colossians

1:2 ἐν Κολασσαῖς [= NA²⁷ *v.l.*, *txt* Κολοσσ-]/ܕܒܩܘܠܣܘܣ

1:7 συνδούλου (ms O + transliteration)/ܟܢܬܐ

1:19 πλήρωμα (ms O + transliteration)/ܡܘܠܝܐ

2:2 συμβιβασθέντων (ms O + transliteration)/ܡܩܪܒܝܢ

2:14 χειρόγραφον (ms O + transliteration)/ܐܓܪܬܐ

2:14 προσηλώσας (ms J)/ܩܒܥ

2:18 καταβραβευέτω/ܢܛܠܡ

2:18 καὶ θρησκείᾳ/ܘܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ

2:19 καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον/ܘܡܬܪܟܒ

2:20 δογματίζεσθε/ܡܬܕܝܢܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ

2:22 τῇ ἀποχρήσει/ܠܐܣܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ

2:23 ἐν ἐθελοθρησκίᾳ (ms J)/ܪܚܝܢܐ ܕܨܒܝܢܐ

3:13 μομφήν (ms O + transliteration)/ܩܘܪܠܐ

3:15 βραβευέτω (ms O + transliteration)/ܢܛܟܣ

4:10 ὁ ἀνεψιός/ܒܪ ܐܚܘܬܗ ܗܘ

1 Thessalonians

1:2 ἀδιαλείπτως/ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ

1:5 πλιροφορίᾳ (sic) (ms O + transliteration)/ܘܒܦܠܝܪܘܦܘܪܝܐ

2:7 ἐν βάρει/ܒܝܘܩܪܐ

3:3 σαίνεσθαι/ܢܬܟܣܦ

4:3 ὁ ἁγιασμός/ܩܘܕܫܐ

5:8 θώρακα (ms O + transliteration)/ܬܘܪܟܐ

5:9 εἰς περιποίησιν (ms O + transliteration)/ܠܩܢܝܢܐ

5:22 εἴδους/ܐܘܟܡܐ

2 Thessalonians

1:7 ἄνεσιν/ܢܝܚܬܐ

2:4 σέβασμα/ܣܓܝܕܐ

2:14 εἰς περιποίησιν/ܠܩܢܝܢܐ

3:5 εἰς τὴν ὑπομονήν (ms O + transliteration)/ܘܠܡܣܝܒܪܢܘܬܗ

3:14 σημειοῦσθε (ms O + transliteration)/ܣܝܡܘ

3:17 σημεῖον (ms O + transliteration)/ܐܬܐ

1 Timothy

1:4 καὶ γενεαλογίας/ܘܠܫܪܒܬܐ ܘܙܢܐ

1:9 ἀνδροφόνοις (ms O -φόνοι + transliteration)/ܠܩܛܠܝ ܐܢܫܐ

1:10 ἀνδροποδισταῖς [NA²⁷ -δρα-] (ms O + transliteration)/ܠܓܢܒܝ ܐܢܫܐ

1:12 ἔχω/ܣܒܪ ܐܢܐ

1:16 ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ/ܒܗ

1:18 τέκνον/ܒܪܝ

2:9 πολυτελεῖ/ܣܓܝ ܒܛܝܡܐ

2:12 αὐθεντεῖν/ܬܫܬܠܛ

2:15 τεκνογονίας (ms J)/ܡܘܠܕܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ

3:6 μὴ νεόφυτον (ms J)/ܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܢܨܒܬܐ

3:10 εἶτα/ܘܗܝܕܝܢ

4:1 ῥητῶς/ܒܦ ܦܣܝܩܐ

5:4 εὐσεβεῖν (ms O + transliteration)/ܠܠܟܘܬܐ— ܢܬܗܦܟܘܢ ܗܒܘ

5:6 σπαταλῶσα (ms O + transliteration)/ܘܒܐܣܛܦܐ

5:13 καὶ φλύαροι/ܐܦ ܣܪܝܩܬܐ

6:11 ὦ/ܐܘ

6:20 ὦ/ܳܐܘ

6:20 παραθίκη (*sic*) (ms O)/ܦܳܪܳܬܶܐܩܺܐ

6:20 καὶ ἀντιθέσεις/ܘܕܣܘܩܒ̈ܠܐ ܗܝܢ

2 Timothy

1:2 τέκνῳ (ms J)/ܠܒܪܐ

1:6 ἀναζωπυρῆσαι [NA²⁷ -ρεῖν]/ܕܬܰܢܚܶܡ

1:9 πρόθεσιν (ms O)/ܩܕܡ ܣܝܡܗ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ

2:17 γάγγραινα/ܢܶܟ݁ܬ݂ܬ݂ܳܐ

2:19 ἔστηκεν/ܩܳܡ (or ܗܳܡ ?)

2:26 ἐζωγρημένοι/ܘܟܕ ܡܶܢܗܘܢ ܨܳܝܕܺܝܢ

3:13 καὶ γόητες/ܘܡܰܛܥ̈ܝܢܐ

3:16 θεόπνευστος/ܢܰܦܣ ܡܢ ܐܰܠܳܗܐ

4:5 εὐαγγελίστου/ܘܰܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ

4:5 πληροφόρησον/ܫܰܟ݁ܠܠ ܘܩܰܕܰܢܗܳܐ

4:13 τὸν φελώνην [NA²⁷ φαι-] (mss JO + transliteration + gloss)/ܦܳܠܽܘܢܳܝܢ

4:13 μεμβράνας (mss JO + transliteration + gloss)/ܡܶܡܒܪܳܐܢܰܣ

4:17 πληροφορηθῇ/ܫܰܟ݁ܠܠܘ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ

Titus

1:7 αὐθάδη (ms O + transliteration)/ܡܰܚܨܦܳܐ

1:7 πλήκτην (ms O + transliteration)/ܡܚܰܝܨܳܢܳܐ

2:3 ἱεροπρεπεῖ/ܦܐܝܐ ܠܩܘܕܫܐ

2:5 οἰκουρούς/ܡܶܬ݂ܢܰܦܚ, ܘܒ̈ܬܐ

2:5 βλασφιμεθῇ (*sic*) [NA²⁷ βλασφημῆται] (ms O)/ܬܶܬ݂ܓܰܕܦ

2:7 ἀδιαφθορίαν/ܕ݂ܠܐ ܡܶܬ݂ܚܰܒܠܳܢܘܬ݂ܐ

2:7 ἀφθαρσίαν/ܕ݂ܠܐ ܚܘܒܳܠܐ

2:8 φαῦλον/ܦܰܟ݂ܝܗ, ܘܒܝܫ

3:9 νομικάς/ܢܳܡܽܘܣܳܝ̈ܬ݂ܳܐ

Philemon

12 σπλάγχνα (ms O)/ܪ̈ܰܚܡܐ

Hebrews

2:1 παραρυῶμεν (ms O + transliteration + gloss)/ܢܶܦܶܨ

Ms **J** breaks off at Heb 2:5; (ܘܡܰܠܐܟ̈ܐ); henceforth ms **O** is the only representative of the Harklean Greek margin.

2:16 ἐπιλαμβάνεται (+ transliteration + gloss)/ܢܰܩܶܦ

3:14 τῆς ὑποστάσεως (+ transliteration)/ܕܩܝܘܡܐ

4:7 τινά/ܚܰܕ

5:11 νωθροί/ܟܪ̈ܰܗܝ,

5:12 στοιχεῖα (+ transliteration + gloss)/ܗܡܿܬܘܟܟܐ

6:7 εὔθετον ܙܐܘܢ/ܘܿܙܙܘܚ

6:19 ἄγκυραν/ܐܢܩܘܪܐ

6:20 πρόδρομος (+ transliteration)/ܘܿܗܘܠܝ ܩܒܘܚܡܐ

7:1 ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς (+ transliteration)/ܡܢ ܩܘܦܗܐ

7:4 ἀκροθινίων (+ transliteration)/ܝܿܡܢܟܐ

8:1 κεφάλαιον (+ transliteration)/ܩܘܦܠܟܘܗܿ

9:4 στάμνος/ܗܠܐܡܢܘܣ

9:4 καὶ [NA²⁷ + αἱ] πλάκες/ܘܠܐܚܬܡ

9:19 καὶ ὑσώπου [NA²⁷ ὑσσ-] (+ transliteration)/ܘܗܘܦܘ

10:7 ἐν κεφαλίδι (+ transliteration)/ܒܢܿܡܐ

10:29 κοινόν/ܗܢܿܡܚܐ

10:34 πρᾶξιν [NA²⁷ ὕπαρξιν]/ܗܘܿܢܼܐ

11:1 ὑπόστασις/ܡܢܘܿܡܐ

11:11 ἔτεκεν ἕστηκεν ܟܚܒܕܐ. ܡܣܚܐ ܘܗܿ/ܝܚܒܼܐ

11:16 ἐπουρανίου (+ transliteration)/ܟܡܥܡܢܐ

11:24 μέγας γενόμενον (+ transliteration)/ܡܿ ܙܘܿܟܐ ܘܗܿ

1.4.3 "Mirror Translation" (Sample)

Finally, a sample of "mirror translation" will illustrate the transparency of the Syriac to the Greek model. Phil 3 (taken from *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* II,2 526–27) is chosen for its simple syntax and well-balanced combination of Harklean textual features. The purpose of this sample text is to show that the accessibility of the Greek model is hardly affected by ambiguity with regard to the lexical level. There are only three ambiguities (in verse 1 ὀκνηρόν/ὀκνητέον, verse 6 ζῆλος/ζῆλον, and verse 10 συμμορφίζομαι/ συμμορφόομαι) which do not concern prepositions and articles (verses 1, 3, 8, 9).

We can find quasi-exclusive agreements of Hk^gr/^GR2138 in verses 4, 12 (twice), and 17; agreements including the Byzantine text in verse 16, 20, and 21. Disagreements of Hk^gr/^GR2138 are in verses 3 and 13.

The Greek gives the text of Hk^gr/^GR2138 (= 1505.1611.2138.2495). Deviating members of ^GR2138 are explicitly quoted in the apparatus. Underlined words indicate differences between the retroversion and the NA²⁷ text. Besides NA²⁷ the sources of the Greek variants presented in the apparatus are *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus II. Die Paulinischen Briefe, Teil 2: Gal, Eph, Phil, Kol, 1 u. 2 Thess, 1 u. 2 Tim, Tt, Phlm, Hebr*[37]; H. Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 2: *Text und Apparat*. Usually manuscripts from von Soden's edition are summarized rather than listed individually; variants attested only by him are, with few exceptions, omitted.

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[37] Bearbeitet von K. Wachtel und K. Witte. ANTT 22. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.

(MT) = Majority Text of the Greek NT according to NA²⁷ p. 55*; **Hk**ᵐˢ **O** = ms New Coll. 333 (Oxford); **Hk**ᵐˢ **J** = ms syr. 37 of St Mark's Monastery (Jerusalem); **Hk**ᵐˢ **C** = ms Add. 1700 of the University Library Cambridge; **Hk**ᵍʳ = the Greek model of the Harklean; **Hk** = the Syriac text of the Harklean. See the Introduction of NA²⁷ for a key to other sigla used here.

Philippians 3:1 Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί °μου, χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ. ⌐τὰ αὐτὰ⌐ γράφειν °¹ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ⌐ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ⊤ ἀσφαλές.

ܡܟܝܠ ܐܚܝ ܚܕܘ. ܣܒܪܗ ܚܫܚܬܢ. ܘܕܐܢܐ ܗܿܘ ܟܕ ܗܿܘ ܠܐ ܡܐܢܝܢܐ. ܠܟܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܗܘܡܢܐ.

° P⁴⁶ — ⌐ ταυτα ℵ*FGP — °¹ 056 075 0142 — ⌐ οκνητεον 2495 — ⊤ το 0150 104.323.614.629.945.2464 *al*
Hkᵍʳ οκνηρον or οκνητεον

2 Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν.

ܣܒܪܗ ܠܟܠܒܐ. ܣܒܪܗ ܠܦܥܠܐ ܬܢܩܐ. ܣܒܪܗ ܠܟܬܩܬܐ.

3 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ ⊤ πνεύματι ⌐θεῷ⌐ λατρεύοντες □καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν ⌐Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ⌐οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ⌐ πεποιθότες.⌐

ܣܒܪ ܓܝܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܓܙܘܪܬܐ. ܗܿܢܘܢ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܒܗܪܝܢ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܝܫܘܥ. ܘܠܐ ܒܒܣܪܐ ܬܟܝܠܝܢ.

⊤ εν P⁴⁶ — ⌐ θεου (MT) Hkᵐᵍ ℵ*ABCD²FG 0278ᵛⁱᵈ 33.1739.1881 **1611.1505.2138.2495** Hkᵐᵍ ¦ *om* P⁴⁶ [θεω ℵ² D*PΨ 075 365.1175 *pc*] — □ 075 (*homoiotel.*) — ⌐ κυριω 2495 — ⌐ ου σαρκι D

Hkᵍʳ πνευματι or εν πνευματι — ᴳᴿ2138 (MT, Hkᵐᵍ) θεου against Hkᵍʳ θεω. Thomas quotes the (MT) θεου in the margin — Hkᵍʳ ουκ εν σαρκι or ου σαρκι

4 καίπερ ⌐ἐγὼ ἔχων⌐ πεποίθησιν ⌐καὶ ἐν σαρκί⌐. εἴ τις ⌐ἄλλος δοκεῖ⌐ πεποιθέναι □ἐν σαρκί,⌐ ἐγὼ μᾶλλον·

ܘܟܕ ܠܝ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܠܐ ܟܕ ܡܐܘܡܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܒܣܪܐ. ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܣܒܪܢܐ ܡܟܕ ܘܐܝܟܠܐ ܚܒܣܪܐ: ܐܢܐ ܝܟܝܪܐܝܟ.

⌐ εχω εγω 1505 — ⌐ εν σαρκι D*FG ¦ τοιαυτην εχων εν κυριω C² — ⌐ (MT) ¦ δοκει αλλως 075 ¦ δε αλλως δοκει FG [αλλος δοκει D I **1505.1611.2138.2495**, and 206.1758 acc. to vSod] — □ 0151
Hkᵍʳ/ ᴳᴿ2138 and a small number of witnesses αλλος δοκει

5 περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, κατὰ ⌐νόμον Φαρισαῖος,

ܕܓܙܘܪܬܐ ܠܬܡܝܢܝܐ ܝܘܡܐ. ܡܢ ܓܢܣܐ ܕܐܣܪܐܝܠ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ. ܥܒܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܪܝܐ. ܐܡܪ ܕܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ.

⌐ τον νομον FG ¦ νοφον P⁴⁶
Hk (by mistake?) περιτομη

6 κατὰ ⌜ζῆλος διώκων °τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ⌐, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος.

ܐܡܪ ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܢܘܘܦܩܐ ܘܢܒܙܐ. ܐܡܪ ܘܕܡܪܡܬܗܐ ܗܘ ܘܕܚܘܬܚܘܬܗܐ: ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ.

⌜ζηλον (MT) א² D¹KLPΨ 056.075.0142.0150.0151 33.1739.1881 — ° P⁴⁶ D*FG — ⌐ θεου FG ¦ του θεου 0282

Hkᵍʳ ζηλος or ζηλον — Hk της εκκλησιας (caused by misunderstanding of διωκων)

7 °ἀλλὰ ἅτινα ⌐ἦν μοι⌐ κέρδη, ταῦτα ἥγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν.

ܐܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܝܬ̈ܢ ܠܕ ܐܟܐܝܘܠ: ܠܗܘܠܝ ܫܥܚܕ (Hkᵐˢ ᶜ ܐܢܝ +) ܐܩܠܝܠ ܚܡܡܫܢܐ ܫܘܡܨܘܢܠ.

° P⁴⁶·⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ א*AG 0282 33.81.1241ˢ — ⌐ B 056.0142 614 pc

8 ἀλλὰ ⌐μὲν οὖν⌐ °καὶ ἡγοῦμαι ⌐τὰ πάντα⌐ ζημίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως ⌐Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ⌐ τοῦ κυρίου ⌜ἡμῶν, δι᾿ ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα °¹εἶναι ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω

ܐܠܐ ܒܝ ܗܘܨܠܐ ܐܦ ܣܥܕ ܐܢܐ ܘܩܠܘܝ ܢܘܘܢܙܢܠ ܐܠܡܥܝ: ܠܗܘܠܝ ܚܟܟܫܘܐ ܘܒܝܘܚܕܐ ܘܚܡܡܫܢܐ ܠܦܘܢ ܗܢܝܐ ܘܡܟ: ܗܗ ܘܩܠܝܟܟܗ ܩܠܘܗܝ ܫܥܙܐ. ܘܣܥܕ ܐܢܐ ܘܩܘܕܟܠ ܐܠܡܥܝ: ܐܫܠܠ ܘܟܚܡܥܫܢܐ ܐܠܐܘ.

⌐μενουνγε (MT) P⁴⁶·⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ א AP 0150.0282 [and Min. in vSod]¦ μεν ουν BDFGKLΨ 056.075.0142.0151 1505.1611.2138.2495 (and Min. in vSod)] — ° P⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ א* 6.33.1739.1881 pc — ⌐παντα (MT) 2495 [τα παντα P⁶¹ 075 1505.1611.2138, and 81.547.920.2005 acc. to vSod] — ⌐ ΑΚΡΨ 056.075.0142 2495 [and Min. in vSod]¦ του Χρ. I. P⁴⁶·⁶¹ B — ⌜ μου (MT) [ημων AP 1505.1611.2138.2495, and 88.330.1149.1872.1891 acc. to vSod] — °¹ א*BD*FG 33

Hkᵍʳ/ ᴳᴿ2138 μεν ουν — Hkᵍʳ?/ ᴳᴿ2138 τα παντα — Hkᵍʳ / ᴳᴿ2138 and few witnesses ημων

9 καὶ εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως °⸆Ἰησοῦ/ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ⌐ἐπὶ τῇ⌐ πίστει,

ܘܐܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܙܘܡܬܬܐ ܘܠܝܕ ܗܘ ܘܩܝ ܢܩܘܬܗܐ: ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܘܚܠܡܪ ܘܡܘܝܘܬܐ ܘܫ ܠܗܘܢܝ ܚܡܥܫܢܐ: ܙܘܡܬܗܐ ܗܘ ܘܩܝ ܐܠܟܘܐ ܘܚܕܡܘܝܘܬܐ.

° (MT) 1505.1611.2138.2495 [Ιησου 056.0142 177.255.256.337.1319.1518.2127] — ⌐ εν D* Hkᵍʳ/ ᴳᴿ2138 and (MT) omit Ιησου (Hk by asterisk). Either Ιησου really was part of the Harklean's Greek model, or a later reviser marked it with an asterisk to indicate the absence from the MT. — Hkᵍʳ εν?

10 τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ⌐ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ⌐ καὶ °τὴν κοινωνίαν °¹τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, □συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ.\

ܐܘܚܚܘܝܘ ܘܚܠܫܡܠܐ ܘܥܢܥܚܕܐ ܘܒܠܟܕ ܘܚܥܩܘܐܦܘܐܠ ܘܣܩܬܘܝܘ. ܒܝ ܗܢܐ ܟܪܘܩܘܐܠ ܗܘܘ ܐܢܐ ܘܩܘܕܐܠ ܘܩܘܐܠ ܘܡܟܗ.

⌐ αναστασεως D* ¦ γνωσεως αυτου א* — ° P⁴⁶ א*AB 1241ˢ.2464 pc — °¹ P⁴⁶ א*B — □ P⁴⁶ (homoiotel.) ¦ συμμορφιζομενος τ. θ. α. (MT) א* (συνμ-) AB¹ (B* συμ-) D* (συνμ-) P ¦ συνφορτιζομενος τ. θ. α. FG ¦ [συμμορφούμενος τ. θ. α. א² (συνμ-) Dᶜ (συνμ-) KLΨ 056.075.0142.0150.0151 1505 (και συμμ-) 1611.2138.2495 (and Min. in vSod)]

Hkᵍʳ?/ ᴳᴿ2138 την and των — Hkᵍʳ συμμορφιζομενος or συμμορφουμενος

11 εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν ⌐τὴν ἐκ⌐ νεκρῶν.

وَحَدُنَا أُهّلَم كَمِنُعِدُا هُد وِفَي هَتِدْا.

ʽ τῶν ἐκ FG ¦ τῶν (MT) KL 056.075.0142.0150.0151 1739*.1881.**2495** [and Min. in vSod]; [τὴν ἐκ P⁴⁶ אABDRΨ 33.81.104.365.1175.**1505.1611**.1739ᶜ.**2138** *pc*]
Hkᵍʳ/1505.1611.2138 τὴν ἐκ

12 Οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ⊤ ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι, διώκω δὲ εἴ □γε καὶ` καταλάβω, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.`

كَد وِفَي فَبِه نَعتَدا أُه فَي فَبِه أَهلَمحَك. نُوَّى إِنَا وِي. أَنْ فَمَك أُه أُوَّنِر حهُد وَاه أَلمأَوِفَهَا: فَي هُدِنا نَعفَه.❖.

⊤ ἢ ηδη δεδικαιωμαι P⁴⁶ D*.ᶜ (FG δικ-) — □ א* D*FG 056.0142 **2495** [and Min. in vSod] ¦ και (MT) P⁴⁶.⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ א²ABD²Ψ 075 33.1739.1881 [γε και **1505.1611.2138** (and 2005 acc. to vSod)] — ʽ ει א* ¦ *om* D*FG 056.0142 — ʽ Χριστου Ιησου (MT) P⁴⁶.⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ אAP 075 1739.1881 Hkᵐᵍ? ¦ Χριστου BD* (D² του Χρ.) FG 33.**2495** *pc* ¦ I. Χρ. 056.0142 ¦ του Χρ. I. KLΨ 0150.0151 Hkᵐᵍ? [του κυριου I. **1505.1611.2138** (and 1867.2005 acc. to vSod)]
Hkᵍʳ /ᴳᴿ2138 and one additional witness γε και — Hkᵍʳ/ᴳᴿ2138 and few witnesses του κυριου. Hkᵐᵍ Χριστου Ιησου or του Χρ. Ιησου

13 ἀδελφοί, °ἐγὼ ⌐ἐμαυτὸν ⌐οὔπω λογίζομαι ⌐¹κατειληφέναι· ἓν δέ, ⌐τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω` ἐπιλανθανόμενος ⌐τοῖς δὲ` ἔμπροσθεν ⌐²ἐπεκτεινόμενος,

أَنَّه: أَنَا كَد لَا حِجَّمِك (Hkᵐˢ O sub aster) مُعِد إِنَا وَّأَوِفَهَا. سِأَا وِي. وَحَدُنَي فَي وِحُهدَاوَا لُكَا إِنَا. حهُنَي وِي وَمَبُعُا فَحَدحَكَّس إِنَا:

° D* — ⌐ *pon. post* λογίζομαι P⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ [and Min. in vSod] ¦ εμαυτω P — ⌐ου (Hkᵐˢ O MT) P⁴⁶ BD²FGΨ **1505.1611**.1739.1881.**2138.2495** [ουπω Hkᵐˢ J אAD*P 056.075.0150 33.81.104.365.614.(629 *ante* εμ.).1175.1241ˢ *al*] — ⌐¹ κατελιφοτα FG — ʽ τα μεν ουν οπισω K ¦ των μεν οπισω 2.547.1518 [acc. to vSod] ¦ των μεν οπισθεν 056.0142 — ʽ εις δε τα D*FG — ⌐²απεκτ- FG

It is difficult to decide whether the original Hk reading is ܚܒܨܠܐ✕ ܠܐ (= ου Hkᵐˢ O, omittance of ܚܒܨܠܐ by asterisk) or ܚܨܠܐ ܠܐ (= ουπω Hkᵐˢ J). As ᴳʳ2138 attests ου, the asterisk can be original. On the other hand, a later reviser could have introduced the asterisk to change the text in order to bring it in agreement with the Byzantine text. I prefer the latter interpretation.

14 κατὰ σκοπὸν ⌐διώκω ⌐εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ⌐ἄνω κλήσεως` ⌐τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.`

فَر كُومحَك نِعا نُوَّى إِنَا: حَهَا مكَلا ⊤وِرَفَهأَلَا وَمَنُمُدا وَحَكَلا وَأَكَهُا كَهِمِسا نَعفَه.❖.
⌐ διωκων IΨ 056 *pc* — ⌐ επι (MT) DFGKLP 056.075.0142.0150.0151 **2495** [and Min. in vSod] — ʽ ανεγκλησιας 1739ᵛ·ˡ· — ʽ θεου P⁴⁶ ¦ τ. θ. εν κυριω I. Χρ. D* ¦ εν κυριω Ιησου Χριστω FG ¦ τ. θ. εν Χρ. 242 [acc. to vSod]
Hkᵐᵍ [69.33.104 acc. to vSod] κατασκοπων — Hk renders βραβειον (prize of victory) by ܘܪܦܗ؟ ⊤ مكَلا because "victory" is not explicitly expressed in βραβειον.

15 Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι ⌐, τοῦτο ⌜φρονῶμεν, καὶ εἴ τι ἑτέρως ⌜φρονεῖτε, καὶ ⌜¹τοῦτο °ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει·

ܡܿܟܠ ܗܿܟܝܠ ܡܣܡܟܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܠܐܙܢܐ. ܗܿܢ ܗܿܢܡ ܐܣܢܠܐܠ ܡܚܐܙܢܝ ܐܝܠܐ. ܐܘ ܗܘܐ ܐܟܠܐ ܚܠܦܢ ܢܝܠܠ.

⌐ εν Χριστω Ιησου FG — ⌜φρονουμεν א² L 0142 326.1241ˢ *pc* ¦ ουν φρονουμεν א* (Hkᵍʳ more likely φρονωμεν than φρονουμεν) — ⌜ φρονησητε 075 — ⌜¹αυτο **1505.1611.2138**.2005 [acc. to vSod] — ° D*

16 πλὴν εἰς ὃ ⌜ἐφθάσαμεν, ⌜τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν κανόνι, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.⌝

ܚܪܡ ܠܗܘ܆ ܘܥܠܗܿܝܢ. ܟܕܗ ܟܝ ܟܕܗ ܟܡܢܘܢܐ ܢܥܟܡ. ܗܿܘ ܟܝ ܗܿܘ ܢܠܐܙܢܐ.❖

⌜ -σατε P¹⁶ᵛⁱᵈ — ⌜το αυτο φρονειν τω αυτω (αυτοι D*) στοιχειν (+ κανονι D²; κανονι στ. 629; συνστ. FG) D¹·²FG 81.104.365.629.1175.1241ˢ.1881 *al* ¦ τω αυτω στ. P¹⁶·⁴⁶ א*ABIᵛⁱᵈ 0150 6.33.1739 *pc* [τω αυτω στ. κανονι το αυτο φρονειν (MT) א* KLPΨ 049.056.075.0142.0151 **1505.1611.2138.2495**]

Hkᵍʳ/ᴳᴿ2138 and (MT) with addition

17 Συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί °μου, καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς.

ܡܬܕܡܝܢܠܐ ܕܠܝ ܗܘܘ ܐܚܝ ܘܚܕ. ܘܐܚܠܟܗ ܕܚܘܢܝ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܗܠܟܝܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܚܠܦܢ ܠܦܘܩܦܐ ܟܝ.

° (MT) 2495

Hkᵍʳ/**1505.1611.2138**.2005 [acc. to vSod] μου

18 πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν οὓς πολλάκις ⌜ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, νῦν δὲ °καὶ κλαίων λέγω ⌐, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ ⌜Χριστοῦ,

ܣܓܝܐܐ ܓܝܢ ⌐ܐܣܢܠܐܠ\ ܡܗܠܟܝܢ. ܗܘܢ. ܘܐܚܠܬ ܣܓܝܐܠ ܐܡܕ ܘܗܡܠ ܚܠܦܢ. ܗܘܡܐ ܗܿܡ ܐܦ ܟܝ ܟܼܠܐ ܐܢܠ ܐܡܕ ܐܢܠ. ܟܚܠܢܟܝܬܟܐ ܘܪܟܢܟܐ ܘܡܫܡܣܐ.

⌜ ελεγομεν D* — ° P⁴⁶ D* 0142 — ⌐ βλεπετε P⁴⁶ — ⌜ κυριου 049

In v. 18 ܐܣܢܠܐܠ (ετερως cf. v. 15) is not attested in Greek. This is the reason why Hk puts it with an obelos. In a short comment Thomas says: "In two exact Greek manuscripts ܐܣܢܠܐܠ is not found." Accordingly the word is not from the Greek model but from the Philoxenian.

19 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες.

ܘܗܿܢܝ ܘܗܡܚܟܠܐ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܗܿܢܝ ܘܐܟܠܐ ܟܪܣܐ. ܘܠܐܚܕܣܝܟܐ ܚܕܗܠܐܠܐ ܘܡܚܕܗܿܢ. ܗܿܢܝ ܘܐܢܟܢܣܟܐ ܡܚܐܙܢܝ.

20 ἡμῶν ⌜γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ ⌜οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα °ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,

ܘܡܢ ܓܝܢ ܘܘܕܢܐ ܚܡܟܢܠܐ ܐܠܐܗܘܝܢ. ܡܢ ܐܡܟܐ ܘܐܘ ܚܠܟܢܘܗܐ ܡܣܡܟܝܢ. ܟܚܕܢܠܐ ܢܫܩܘ ܡܫܡܣܐ:

° P⁴⁶ — ⌜ Hkᵐᵍ [88.436 acc. to vSod] δε — ⌜ Hkᵐᵍ ὧν

Hkᵍʳ /ᴳᴿ2138 are twice (γαρ and ου) agreeing with the (MT) reading.

21 ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν □εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸˋ σύμμορφον ˹τῷ σώματιˋ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι ˹αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

ܗܿܘ ܕܢܫܚܠܦ ܐܣܟܡܐ ܘܟ̣ܝ̣ܐ ܘܡܘܚܕܐ ܕܡܟܝ: ܚܕܡ ܘܢܘܕܐ ܗܕܐ ܟܪܟܘܗܐ ܚܩ̣ܝ̣ܐ ܘ݂ܐܚܕܡܣܐ ܕܡܟܗ: ܐܝܟ ܡܕܚܒ̣ܢܘ̣ܐ̣ ܘܗܿܘ ܘ݂ܢ̣ܐܡܕ݂ܐ ܘ݂ܗܿ: ܐܘ ܟܡܡܥܕܬܗ ܟܗ ܟܠܐ ܡܕܡ.✧

□ ℵABD*FG 0150 6.81.323.1175.1241ˢ.1739.1881 pc [εις το γενεσθαι αυτο (MT) D¹Ψ 049.056.075.0142.0151 33.**1505.1611.2138.2495**] — ˹ του σωματος FG ¦ το σωμα 1836 [acc. to vSod] — ˹ εαυτω ℵ²D²LΨ 6.104.326.630.1175.1241ˢ.**1611.2138** pm Hkgr/GR2138 and (MT) εις το γενεσθαι αυτο

1.4.4 Summary

To justify the dominance of the translational perpective in the future analytical concordance of the Harklean it was necessary to trace the accessibility of the version's Greek model. The historical setting, the inclusion of the Syro-Hexapla, and the philological principles of the translator/reviser contributed to the possibility of identifying the Greek model almost fifteen centuries after the completion of the version. The remaining ambiguity in the recognition of this model hardly prevents access to the Greek lexical level and the reconstruction of the translator's Greek-Syriac lexicon.

In 619 when the Persians sacked the Enaton the Harklean happily escaped destruction. But there were new and subtle dangers waiting for it. Due to the complicated layout of the version not all scribes were capable of transmitting the text properly: some of them omitted the marginal quotations and the asterisks and obeloi completely. Outside the original context the version was handed over to philology in a Syriac Church which no longer was part of the Byzantine Oikumene. Philologists were not interested in preserving the original text but in changing and updating it according to the contemporary Greek text of the New Testament. The original Greek model of the 5th–6th century was replaced by the increasingly dominant Byzantine text which was definitely fixed in the 12th century by an ecclesiastical edition.

The development of the Byzantine text corresponds to a revisional development of the Harklean which mainly affected the comparative material.[38] Revisional updates gradually removed the non-Byzantine heritage and considerably changed the whole design of the version. The omission of asterisks and obeloi mixed the textual traditions that Thomas had carefully distinguished. Non-Byzantine readings of the original text were dropped, put with asterisks, or removed to the margins; non-Byzantine marginal readings were also dropped, because revisers failed to find them in their Greek Byzantine manuscripts. Fortunately the Syrian Miaphysites founded their work on excellent Greek manuscripts, sound philological

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[38] On the revisional development of the Harklean see Juckel, "The Revisional Development of the Harklean Margin;" "Towards a Critical Edition of the Harklean Gospels;" and "Die Bedeutung des Ms. Vat. Syr. 268."

principles, and on an amazing skill of translation. This protected it from irreversible distortion. The future analytical concordance will be a late fruit of their labour.

2. THE HARKLEAN VOCABULARY

The following pages continue to determine the non-Peshitta vocabulary of the Harklean version started in volume 1 of the *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography* (FSL) with the Gospels (pages 167–94). Now the starting point is the *Corpus Paulinum*, but again all occurrences of a given word are traced throughout the whole Harklean New Testament (excluding the non-Peshitta texts 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation). Pauline quotations already given in the Gospel-lists are repeated in the present volume and are linked with a reference (• and FSL I + page number) to these former lists. By this arrangement the non-Peshitta vocabulary of the individual New Testament corpora (Gospels, *Corpus Paulinum*, Acts–Catholic Epistles) can be presented completely in one FSL volume respectively; and a considerable portion of the vocabulary in the earlier or subsequent corpora is either already quoted or can later be referred to. A final list will treat 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation as a corpus of its own. The Peshitta text is taken from the British and Foreign Bible Society volume of 1920. Due to the different translation technique of the Harklean and the Peshitta the lexical correspondence of the Peshitta cannot always be given by a simple equivalent. In numerous cases there is no correspondence at all or there is one disagreeing with both the Greek and the Harklean. Therefore the Peshitta correspondences in the following lists simply give a report of the corresponding Peshitta text.

2.1 Simple Words That Do Not Exist in the Peshitta

ܐܠܗܘܬܐ/θειότης/deity (Syrᵖ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ) Rom 1:20

ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ/τὸ εὐπάρεδρον/devotion (Syrᵖ ܐܡܝܢܐ) 1 Cor 7:35

ܐܪܡܝܘܬܐ/πρόσχυσις/sprinkling (of blood) (Syrᵖ ܪܣܣ) Heb 11:28

ܣܪܝܩܐ/φλύαρος/gossipy person (Syrᵖ ܐܡܝܢ ܡܡܠܠܐ) 1 Tim 5:13

ܒܘܛܠܐ/ἀθέτησις/nullification (of a command); removal (of sin) Heb 7:18 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܠܟܘ); 9:26 (Syrᵖ ܢܒܛܠ)

ܒܘܣܡܐ/ἀπόλαυσις/enjoyment, pleasure 1 Tim 6:17 (Syrᵖ ܢܬܒܣܡ); Heb 11:25 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܒܣܡ)

ܒܙ/πορθέω/destroy (Syrᵖ ܣܚܦ) Gal 1:13

πορθέω/ܒܙ Acts 9:21 (Syrᵖ ܕܒܙ) — πορθέω/ܒܙ; Gal 1:23 (Syrᵖ ܣܚܦ)

• ܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ (FSL I, 173)/φυλακή/prison Heb 11:36 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܘܪ);
   φυλακαί are ܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ (without ܒܝܬ) 2 Cor 6:5; 11:23

• ܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ (FSL I, 174)/ οἰκεῖος /member of the household (Syrᵖ ܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ) Eph 2:19; 1 Tim 5:8
   οἰκεῖος/ܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ Gal 6:10 (Syrᵖ id.) — οἰκέτης/ܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ Rom 14:4 (Syrᵖ ܥܒܕܐ) — οἰκέτης/ܥܒܕܐ 1 Pet 2:18 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܕܪ̈ܘܫܐ/συζητητής/skillful debater, reasoner (Syrᵖ ܕܪ̈ܘܫܐ) 1 Cor 1:20

• ܚܪܪ (FSL I, 174)/ἀπαλλάσσω/(trans.) set free (Syrᵖ ܚܪܪ) Heb 2:15

• ܩܪܒ (FSL I, 174)/ἅπτομαι/take hold of, touch (Syrᵖ ܐܬܩܪܒ and ܐܬܩܪܒ) 1 Cor 7:1; 2 Cor 6:17; Col 2:21

ܫܪܝܬܐ/ἀφή/ligament (Syrᵖ ܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ) Eph 4:16

ἀφή/ܗܕ̈ܡܐ Col 2:19

ܐܓܘܢܐ/πάλη/struggle, fight (Syrᵖ ܬܟܬܘܫܐ) Eph 6:12

ܢܦܠ/παραρρέω/drift away (Syrᵖ ܢܦܠ) Heb 2:1

ܕܗܝܢܘܬܐ/πιότης/richness (Syrᵖ ܫܘܡܢܐ) Rom 11:17

ܕܘܝܘܬܐ/ταλαιπωρία/misery, trouble (Syrᵖ ܕܘܝܘ) Rom 3:16; Jas 5:1

ܐܬܚܙܝ/φαντάζομαι/appear (Syrᵖ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܘܐ) Heb 12:21

ܤܘܚܦܐ/καταστροφή/ruin, destruction (Syrᵖ ܣܘܚܦܐ) 2 Tim 2:14

ܚܪܝܢܐ/διαπαρατριβή/constant arguing *or* irritation (Syrᵖ ܚܪܝܢܐ) 1 Tim 6:5

ܢܟܠܐ/κυβεία/trickery, cunning (Syrᵖ ܢܟܠܐ) Eph 4:14

• ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ (FSL I, 175)/ἀσφάλεια/safety, full truth Lk 1:4 (Syrᵖ ܫܪܪܐ); Acts 5:3 (Syrᵖ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ); 1 Thess 5:3 (Syrᵖ ܢܛܘܪܐ)

ܫܒܚ/θριαμβεύω/triumph over (someone) (Syrᵖ ܚܕ ܒܟܠ ܡܐ) 2 Cor 2:14

θριαμβεύω/ܒܙܚ Col 2:15 (Syrᵖ ܐܚܕ)

ܐܘܠܨܢܐ/στενοχωρία/difficulty, calamity Rom 2:9; 8:35 (Syrᵖ both ܐܘܠܨܢܐ); 2 Cor 6:4 (Syrᵖ ܡܚܣܢܘܬܐ)

στενοχωρία/ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ 2 Cor 12:10 — στενοχωρέομαι/ܐܬܐܠܨ or ܐܬܬܠܝܨ 2 Cor 4:8 — στενοχωρέομαι/ܐܠܝܨ 2 Cor 6:12

ܚܕܝܘܬܐ/ἑνότης/unity Eph 4:3 (Syrᵖ ܡܬܩܢ ܗܘܝ), 13 (Syrᵖ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ)

• ܚܕܪ̈ܘܗܝ (FSL I, 175)/κύκλῳ/round about Rom 15:19 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܚܕܪ)

• ܡܛܝܒܘܬܐ (FSL I, 176)/τὸ πρόθυμον/eagerness (Syrᵖ ܨܒܝ) Rom 1:15

προθυμία/ܡܛܝܒܘܬܐ 2 Cor 8:11 (Syrᵖ ܨܒܝܢܐ), 12 (Syrᵖ ܨܒܐ), 19 (Syrᵖ ܟܫܝܪܘܬܐ) 9:2 (Syrᵖ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ)

ܡܥܪܬܐ/ὀπή/opening, hole, cave (Syrᵖ ܦܥܪܐ) Heb 11:38

ὀπή/ܢܩܥܐ Jas 3:11 (Syrᵖ no c.)

ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ (*sic* ms J; ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ mss CO)/συνοχή/distress, anxiety (Syrᵖ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ) 2 Cor 2:4

συνοχή/ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ Lk 21:25 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܚܐܪܘܬܐ/ἐλευθερία/freedom (Syrᵖ ܚܐܪܘܬܐ) Rom 8:21

ἐλευθερία/ܚܐܪܘܬܐ (Syrᵖ id.) in all other instances

ܢܓܕ/ῥαβδίζω/whip, beat (with a stick) (Syrᵖ ܢܓܕ ܒܫܒܛܐ) 2 Cor 11:25; Acts 16:22

• ܚܝܘܬܐ (FSL I, 176)/θηρίον/(wild) animal (Syrᵖ ܚܝܘܬܐ) Titus 1:12; Heb 12:20

ܢܣܒ/κνήθομαι/feel an itching (Syrᵖ ܡܬܚܡܡܝܢ) 2 Tim 4:3

ܓܪܓ/ἐρεθίζω/stir up; make resentful (Syrᵖ ܚܡܝ) 2 Cor 9:2

ܛܒܥܐ/σφραγίς/seal; evidence, proof (Syrᵖ ܚܬܡܐ) Rom 4:11; 1 Cor 9:2

    σφραγίς/ ܚܬܡܐ 2 Tim 2:19

ܝܐܒܘܬܐ/ἐπιπότησις/longing (Syrᵖ ܪܓܬܐ) 2 Cor 7:7, 11

• ܩܪܚ (FSL I, 176)/σαλπίζω/sound a trumpet (Syrᵖ ܢܩܪ) 1 Cor 15:52

ܝܨܝܦܘܬܐ/σπουδή/diligence, eagerness (Syrᵖ ܚܦܝܛܘ) Rom 12:11

    σπουδή/ܝܨܝܦܘܬܐ Rom 12:8; 2 Cor 7:11, 12; 8:7, 8, 16; Heb 6:11

ܢܫܓܪ/ἐκκαίομαι/be inflamed (of lust) (Syrᵖ ܐܬܚܡܡܘ) Rom 1:27

ܐܬܝܬܡ/ἀπορφανίζομαι/be separated from (Syrᵖ ܝܬܡܐ ܗܘܝܢ) 1 Thess 2:17

    ὀρφανός/ܝܬܡܐ Jn 14:18; Jas 1:27

ܟܐܪ/ἐντρέπω/make ashamed (Syrᵖ ܐܒܗܬ) 1 Cor 4:14

    ἐντρέπω/ܢܟܦ Lk 18:2, 4; 20:13; 2 Thess 3:14; Titus 2:8; Heb 12:9 — ἐντρέπω/ܒܗܬ Mt 21:37; Mk 12:6

ܚܫܡܝܬܐ/αἰδώς/propriety, modesty (Syrᵖ ܐܣܟܡܐ) 1 Tim 2:9

    αἰδώς/ܚܫܡܝܬܐ (Syrᵖ ܐܣܟܡܐ) Heb 12:28

• ܚܨܐ (FSL I, 177)/ὀσφῦς/waist (Syrᵖ ܚܨܐ) Eph 6:14; Heb 7:5, 10

ܨܡܕ/ἐπισωρεύω/accumulate, collect (Syrᵖ ܢܟܢܫ) 2 Tim 4:3

    σωρεύω/ܨܡܕ Rom 12:20 (Syrᵖ ܬܟܒ) — σωρεύω/ܨܒܕ 2 Tim 3:6 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܥܟܪ/ἐνοχλέω/trouble; cause trouble (Syrᵖ ܢܕܘܪ) Heb 12:15

    ἐνοχλέομαι/ܡܬܐܠܨܝܢ Lk 6:18 (Syrᵖ ܢܬܟܪ)

ܢܬܟܣܣ/σαίνομαι/be disturbed *or* upset (Syrᵖ ܢܙܘܥ) 1 Thess 3:3

ܟܫܡ/ἁρμόζομαι/promise *or* give in marriage (Syrᵖ ܡܟܪ) 2 Cor 11:2

    ܐܬܚܫܡ/συναρμολογέομαι/be joined together (Syrᵖ ܐܬܪܟܒ) Eph 2:21; 4:16

ܟܫܠ/μωραίνω/make foolish Rom 1:22 (Syrᵖ ܠܗܐ ܫܟܠܝ); 1 Cor 1:20 (Syrᵖ ܐܫܟܠ)

    μωραίνω/ܦܟܗ Mt 5:13; Lk 14:34 — μωρία/ܫܟܠܘܬܐ (Syrᵖ ܫܛܝܘܬܐ) 1 Cor 1:18, 21, 23; 2:14; 3:19 (Syrᵖ ܫܟܠܘܬܐ) — μωρός/ܟܫܠܐ (Syrᵖ ܫܛܝܐ) 1 Cor 1:25 (Syrᵖ ܫܛܝܘܬܐ); 3:18; 2 Tim 2:23; Titus 3:9; Mt 5:22 (Syrᵖ ܫܟܠܐ); 7:26; 23:17; 25:2 — μωρός/ܫܛܝܐ 1 Cor 1:27; 4:10 (Syrᵖ both id.) — μωρολογία/ܫܟܠܘܬܐ ܕܓܠܐ (Syrᵖ ܓܠܐ ܘܫܟܠܘܬܐ) Eph 5:4

ܚܣܝܪܘܬܐ/ὑστέρημα/what is lacking (Syrᵖ ܗܘܬ ܒܟܘܢ) 1 Cor 16:17

    ὑστέρημα/ܚܣܝܪܘܬܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Lk 21:4; 2 Cor 8:14 (twice); 9:12; 11:9; Col 1:24; 1 Thess 3:10 (Syrᵖ) Phil 2:30 (Syrᵖ ܗܘܬ ܒܟܘܢ) — ὑστέρημα/ܒܟܘܢ ܗܘܬ (ܚܕܐ ܘܚܣܪܬ)

• ܡܕܐܬܐ (FSL I, 177)/φόρος/tax, tribute (Syrᵖ ܡܟܣܐ ܝܗܒܝܢ) Rom 13:6, 7 (twice)

ܡܬܕܡܝܢܐ/μιμητής/imitator (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܡܝܘ) 1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Eph 5:1; 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; Heb 6:12 (Syrᵖ ܡܬܕܡܝܢܐ)

• ܡܕܒܪܳܢܐ (FSL I, 177)/ὁδηγός/guide Acts 1:16; Rom 2:19 (Syrᵖ both ܡܕܒܪܳܢܐ)

ܡܕܒܪܳܢܘܬܐ/ἀγωγή/manner of life, conduct (Syrᵖ ܕܘܒܳܪܐ) 2 Tim 3:10

ܡܘܪܡܪܘ/παραπικρασμός/rebellion (Syrᵖ ܡܪܡܪܢܘ) Heb 3:8, 15

   παραπικραίνω/ܡܪܡܪ (Syrᵖ ܐܪܓܙ) Heb 3:16

ܡܙܕܩܢܘܬܐ/δικαίωσις/putting into a right relationship (with God) (Syrᵖ ܙܟܘ) Rom 4:25

ܡܙܕܩܢܘܬܐ/δικαίωμα/righteous deed, acquittal (Syrᵖ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ) Rom 5:16, 18

ܡܙܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ/τὸ ἥττημα/defeat; failure (Syrᵖ ܡܟܣܢܘܬܐ) Rom 11:12; 1 Cor 6:7 (Syrᵖ ܣܚ)

ܡܚܡܣܢܢܘܬܐ/ἐγκράτεια/self-control 1 Cor 7:7 (Syrᵖ ܢܟܦܘܬܐ); Gal 5:23 (Syrᵖ ܡܚܡܣܢܢܘܬܐ) Acts
   24:25 (Syrᵖ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ)

   ܡܚܡܣܢܢܘܬܐ/προσκαρτέρησις/perseverance (Syrᵖ ܢܓܪ) Eph 6:18 — ܕܠܐ ܡܚܡܣܢܢܘ/ ἀκρατής (Syrᵖ
   ܡܣܚܦ ܚܢܝܟܐ) 2 Tim 3:3

ܡܬܛܪܦ/κλυδονίζομαι/be tossed by the sea (Syrᵖ ܐܙܕܪܝ) Eph 4:14

   κλύδων/ܡܬܛܪܦܘ Lk 8:24 (Syrᵖ id.); Jas 1:6 (Syrᵖ ܪܚܫܐ)

ܡܟܣܢܘܬܐ/ἐλεγμός/refutation of error (Syrᵖ ܩܘܡܐ) 2 Tim 3:16

ܡܟܣܢܘܬܐ/ἔλεγχος/verification, certainty (Syrᵖ ܓܠܝܢܐ) Heb 11:1

ܡܠܟܕܘܐ/σύμβουλος/counselor, advisor (Syrᵖ ܝܗܒ ܡܠܟܐ) Rom 11:34

ܡܟܠܣܢܐ/ψιθυριστής/one who bears harmful gossip against another Rom 1:29 (Syrᵖ no c.)

   ψιθυρισμός/ܠܘܚܫܐ (Syrᵖ ܪܛܢܐ) 2 Cor 12:20

ܡܢܗܪܢܘܬܐ/φωτισμός/illumination; bringing to light (Syrᵖ ܢܘܗܪܐ) 2 Cor 4:6

   φωτισμός/ܢܘܗܪܐ 2 Cor 4:4 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܡܫܡܫܢܐ/θεράπων/servant (Syrᵖ ܥܒܕܐ) Heb 3:5

ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ/ὑπόνοια/suspicion (Syrᵖ ܡܣܡ ܚܘܫܒܐ) 1 Tim 6:4

ܒܥܒܪܐ/ἐν παρόδῳ/in passing (Syrᵖ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ) 1 Cor 16:7

ܡܥܠܢܘܬܐ/ἐπεισαγωγή/bringing in (Syrᵖ ܥܠܠ) Heb 7:19

ܡܨܛܠܝܢܘܬܐ/πρόσκλισις/favouritism (Syrᵖ ܡܨܛܠܐ ܒܐܦܐ) 1 Tim 5:21

ܡܨܥܝ/μεσιτεύω/confirm, guarantee (Syrᵖ ܡܣܗܕ) Heb 6:17

ܡܩܕܫܢܘܬܐ/ἁγιασμός/sanctification (Syrᵖ ܩܘܕܫܐ) 2 Thess 2:13; 1 Tim 2:15

   ἁγιασμός/ܩܘܕܫܐ (Syrᵖ ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ) Rom 6:19, 22 (Syrᵖ ܩܘܕܫܐ) 1 Thess 4:3, 4, 7; Heb 12:14 —
   ἁγιασμός/ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ (Syrᵖ id.) 1 Cor 1:30; 1 Pet 1:2

ܡܪܓܫܢܘܬܐ/αἴσθησις/insight, judgement (Syrᵖ ܣܘܟܠܐ) Phil 1:9

   αἰσθάνομαι/ܐܪܓܫ Lk 9:45 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥ)

ܡܪܓܙ/προκαλέομαι/irritate, make angry (Syrᵖ ܐܪܓܠ) Gal 5:26

ܡܪܝܫܢܘܬܐ/ὄσφησις/sense of smell (Syrᵖ ܡܪܝܫ ܗܘ) 1 Cor 12:17

• ܡܨܥܪܢܐ (FSL I, 178)/διάβολος/the devil (Syrᵖ ܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ and ܣܛܢܐ) Eph 4:27; 6:11; 1 Tim 3:11; 2 Tim 3:3; Titus 2:3

διάβολος/ܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ 1 Tim 3:6, 7; 2 Tim 2:26; Heb 2:14

ܓܫܡ/θιγγάνω/touch Col 2:21 (Syrᵖ ܢܩܦ); Heb 11:28 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܩܪܒ)

θιγγάνω/ܩܪܒ Heb 12:20 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܩܪܒ)

I ܡܫܚ/μετρέω/measure 2 Cor 10:12 (Syrᵖ no c.)

μετρέω/ܟܝܠ (Syrᵖ id.) Mt 7:2; Mk 4:24; Lk 6:38

ܡܫܟܒܐ/κοίτη/bed; marital relationship; sperm; sexual impurity (Syrᵖ ܬܫܘܝܬܐ) Heb 13:4

κοίτη/ܡܫܟܒܐ Rom 9:10 (Syrᵖ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ); 13:13 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܡܫܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ/κατάρτισις/being made complete (Syrᵖ ܐܠܓܡܪ) 2 Cor 13:9

ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ/τελειότης/completeness; maturity (Syrᵖ ܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ) Heb 6:1 — ܡܫܡܠܝܢܐ/τελειώτης/perfecter (Syrᵖ ܓܡܘܪܐ) Heb 12:2

ܡܫܘܕܥܢܘܬܐ/ἐπίγνωσις/knowledge, recognition (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥܬܐ) Rom 1:28; 3:20 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥ); 10:2; Eph 1:17; 4:13; Phil 1:9; Col 1:9, 10; 2:2; 3:10; 1 Tim 2:4; 2 Tim 2:25 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥ); 3:7; Titus 1:1; Philem 6; Heb 10:26

• ܡܚܘܝܢܘܬܐ (FSL I,178)/ἔνδειξις/evidence, indication Rom 3:25 (Syrᵖ no c.), 26 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܟܡܐ)

ἔνδειξις/ܐܣܟܡܐ 2 Cor 8:24; Phil 1:28

• ܡܬܥܡܪܢܝܬܐ (FSL I, 178)/οἰκουμένη/world, inhabited earth Rom 10:18 (Syrᵖ ܐܪܥܐ); Heb 1:6; 2:5 (Syrᵖ twice ܥܠܡܐ)

ܡܬܩܒܠܢܘܬܐ/πρόσλημψις/acceptance (Syrᵖ ܩܘܒܠܐ) Rom 11:15

ܡܬܩܒܠܢܘܬܐ /ἀποδοχή/acceptance (Syrᵖ ܡܩܒܠܘܬܐ) 1 Tim 1:15; 4:9

ܡܬܩܪܒܢܘܬܐ/προσαγωγή/freedom, right to enter Rom 5:2 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܩܪܒ); Eph 2:18 (Syrᵖ ܩܪܒܢܐ); 3:12 (Syrᵖ ܩܒܘܠܐ)

ܡܣܬܠܝܢܘܬܐ/ἀποβολή/loss, rejection (Syrᵖ ܡܣܬܠܝܢܘܬܐ) Rom 11:15

ἀποβολή/ܢܚܠܐ Acts 27:22 (Syrᵖ ܐܒܕ)

ܢܚܡ/ἀναζωπυρέω/stir into flame, rekindle (Syrᵖ ܥܝܪ) 2 Tim 1:6

ܢܣܒܢܘܬܐ/μετάλημψις/receiving, accepting (Syrᵖ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ) 1 Tim 4:3

ܐܬܢܦܫ/εὐψυχέω/be encouraged, cheered (Syrᵖ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ) Phil 2:19

ܐܬܢܦܚ/φυσιόομαι/be conceited or arrogant 1 Cor 4:6 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܪܝܡ) 4:18; Col 2:18 (both Syrᵖ ܐܬܪܝܡ)

φυσιόομαι/ܐܬܚܬܪ (Syrᵖ ܐܬܪܡܪܡ) 1 Cor 13:4 — φυσιόομαι/ܢܦܚ 1 Cor 4:19 (Syrᵖ ܪܝܡ); 5:2 (Syrᵖ ܚܬܪ) — φυσιόω/ܢܦܚ 1 Cor 8:1 (Syrᵖ ܪܝܡ) — ܢܦܝܚܘܬܐ/φυσίωσις (Syrᵖ ܚܬܪܐ) 2 Cor 12:21

ܢܩܪ/καταναρκάω/be a (financial) burden to (Syrᵖ ܝܩܪ) 2 Cor 11:9; 12:13, 14

ܢܩܕܬܐ/γυναικάριον/morally weak woman (Syrᵖ ܐܢܬܐ) 2 Tim 3:6

ܢܩܫ/τυμπανίζω/torture (Syrᵖ ܡܚܐ ܒܩܛܪ̈ܐ) Heb 11:35

ܣܒܥܬܐ/πλησμονή/satisfaction (Syrᵖ ܣܒܥܐ) Col 2:23

ܣܓܝܕܐ/σέβασμα/object *or* place of worship (Syrᵖ ܕܚܠܐ) 2 Thess 2:4

    σέβασμα/ܒܝܬ ܣܓܕܬܐ Acts 17:23 (Syrᵖ ܒܝܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ)

- ܣܘܟܝܐ (FSL I, 179)/ἀποκαραδοκία/eager longing Rom 8:19 (Syrᵖ ܣܟܐ); Phil 1:20 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܟܐ)

    ܣܘܟܝܐ/ἐκδοχή/expectation, prospect (Syrᵖ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܗܘ) Heb 10:27

- ܣܘܟܠܬܢܘܬܐ (FSL I, 179)/σύνεσις/understanding, power of comprehension (Syrᵖ ܣܘܟܠܐ)

    Col 1:9

    σύνεσις/ܣܘܟܠܐ 1 Cor 1:19 (Syrᵖ ܐܘܟܡܬܐ); Col 2:2 (Syrᵖ id.) — σύνεσις/ ܒܝܢܐ Eph 3:4 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥܬܐ)

    2 Tim 2:7 (Syrᵖ ܣܘܟܠܐ)

ܐܣܬܟܡ ܥܡ/συσχηματίζομαι/be conformed to, be shaped by (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܡܝ) Rom 12:2

    συσχηματίζομαι/ܐܣܬܟܡܘ 1 Pet 1:14 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܡܝܬܘܢ)

ܣܡܟܬܐ/ἐδραίωμα/support, foundation (Syrᵖ ܣܝܡܬܐ) 1 Tim 3:15

ܣܦܩܘܬܐ/ἱκανότης/capacity (Syrᵖ ܣܦܩܐ) 2 Cor 3:5

II ܣܩܘܪܐ/κατάλαλος/slanderer (Syrᵖ no c.) Rom 1:30

    ܣܩܘܪܐ/καθαίρεσις/destruction (Syrᵖ ܣܬܪ) 2 Cor 10:4, 8; 13:10 (Syrᵖ both ܣܘܬܦܐ)

ܣܪܝܫ/ῥιζόω/be firmly rooted Eph 3:17 (Syrᵖ ܥܩܪܐ ܘܫܬܐܣܬܐ ܗܘܘ); Col 2:7 (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ)

ܐܣܬܥܒܕ/δουλόω/enslave Rom 6:18 (Syrᵖ ܗܘܘ ܥܒܕܐ), 22 (Syrᵖ ܥܒܕܬܘܢ ܗܘܘ)

    δουλόω/ܥܒܕ 1 Cor 7:15; 9:19; Gal 4:3; Titus 2:3; Acts 7:6 (Syrᵖ all id.) — ܐܣܬܥܒܕ/ δουλεύω

    Rom 6:6; 7:6, 25; 9:12; 12:11

ܣܘܪܚܢܐ/παράβασις/overstepping, breaking Rom 2:23 (Syrᵖ ܥܒܪ); 4:15 (Syrᵖ ܥܒܪܐ); 1 Tim 2:14

    (Syrᵖ ܥܒܪ)

    παράβασις/ܣܘܪܚܢܐ Rom 5:14 (Syrᵖ ܥܒܪܐ); Gal 3:19 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܛܝܢܘܬܐ); Heb 2:2; 9:15 (both Syrᵖ ܥܒܪ)

ܥܕܠ/μέμφομαι/find fault with, blame (Syrᵖ ܪܢܐ) Rom 9:19; Heb 8:8

    ܠܐ ܥܕܝܠ/κατεγνωσμένος/condemned (Syrᵖ ܡܟܣ etpe or etpa) Gal 2:11 — ܠܐ / ܠܐ ܥܕܝܠ/

    ἀνεπίλημπτος/above reproach 1 Tim 3:2 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܐܟܣ); 5:7 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܪܡܝ); 6:14

    (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܘܡܐ) — ܠܐ ܥܕܝܠ/ἄμεμπτος (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܪܡܝ) Phil 3:6; Heb 8:7 — ܥܕܠܝܐ/μόμφη/ (cause for)

    complaint (Syrᵖ ܪܘܥܡܐ) Col 3:13

ܢܥܕܥܕ/ἐορτάζω/observe a feast (Syrᵖ ܢܥܒܕ ܥܕܥܐܕܐ) 1 Cor 5:8

ܥܛܝܦܘܬܐ/καταστολή/manner of dress, deportment (Syrᵖ ܐܣܟܡܐ) 1 Tim 2:9

ܥܘܘܟܐ/ἐγκοπή/obstacle, hindrance (Syrᵖ ܐܬܬܩܠ) 1 Cor 9:12

ܚܒܠܐ/ὄλεθρος/destruction, ruin (Syrᵖ ܐܚܒܠ) 1 Cor 5:5

    ὄλεθρος/ܚܒܠܐ) 1 Thess 5:3; 2 Thess 1:9 — ὄλεθρος/ܚܒܠܐ ܘܐܒܕܢܐ 1 Tim 6:9

ܥܠܝܠܐ/παρείσακτος/brought in (under false pretences) (Syrᵖ no c.) Gal 2:4

ܟܟܕ/ὑπερέχω/be better than, surpass (Syrᴾ ܘܝܬܪ) Rom 13:1; Phil 4:7; 1 Pet 2:13

  ὑπερέχω/ܝܬܪ Phil 2:3 — ܡܕܟܟܢܘ/ὑπεροχή/position of authority (Syrᴾ ܘܝܬܪܐ) 1 Cor 2:1; 1 Tim 2:2 (Syrᴾ ܘܝܬܪܘܬ) — ܡܕܟܟܢܘ/τὸ ὑπερέχον Phil 3:8 (Syrᴾ ܘܝܬܪܐ)

ܟܒܫ/ὑπωπιάζω/to keep under control (Syrᴾ ܡܟܒܫ) 1 Cor 9:27

  ὑπωπιάζω/ܡܠܐ wear out (somebody) (Syrᴾ ܡܠܐ) Lk 18:5

• ܚܕܐ (FSL I, 179)/χωρέω/make or have room for (Syrᴾ ܣܒܪ) 2 Cor 7:2

ܟܪܟ/ἐμπλέκομαι/be mixed up in or involved in (Syrᴾ ܦܟܪ) 2 Tim 2:4

ܩܘܛܩܐ/κοπή/slaughter, defeat (Syrᴾ ܩܛܠܐ) Heb 7:1

ܦܘܪܫܐ/διαστολή/distinction, difference (Syrᴾ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ) Rom 3:22; 10:12; 1 Cor 14:7 (Syrᴾ ܦܪܫ)

  ܦܘܪܫܐ/διάκρισις/ability to discriminate (Syrᴾ ܦܪܫ) Heb 5:14

ܒܘܝܐܠܐ/παράκλησις/help; comfort; appeal 2 Cor 8:4, 17 (Syrᴾ both ܒܘܝܐܠܐ); 1 Thess 2:3 (Syrᴾ ܒܘܝܐܐ)

  παράκλησις/ܒܘܝܐܐ Heb 12:5 (Syrᴾ ܡܒܝܐܢܘ); 13:22 (Syrᴾ ܒܘܝܐܐ) — in all other cases παράκλησις = ܒܘܝܐܐ

ܩܠܝܡܬܐ/κλίματα/regions, districts (Syrᴾ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ) Rom 15:23; 2 Cor 11:10; Gal 1:21

ܐܬܦܢܩ/σπαταλάω/live in self-indulgence or luxury (Syrᴾ ܚܟܡ ܐܢܦܩ) 1 Tim 5:6; Jas 5:5 (Syrᴾ ܐܬܦܢܩ)

ܩܘܛܘܥܐ/τομός/sharp, cutting (Syrᴾ ܡܢܩܒܐ) Heb 4:12

ܦܘܩܕܢܐ/ἐπιταγή/command, order; authority (Syrᴾ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ) Titus 2:15

  ἐπιταγή/ܦܘܩܕܢܐ Rom 16:26; 1 Cor 7:6, 25; 2 Cor 8:8; 1 Tim 1:1; Titus 1:3; 2:15

ܡܠܘܬܐ/μηλωτή/sheepskin (Syrᴾ no c.) Heb 11:37

• ܐܬܦܩܗ (FSL I, 180)/ἀπορέω/be at a loss Gal 4:20 (Syrᴾ ܐܬܦܝܗ ܐܢܐ)

  ἀπορέω/ܡܬܦܩ 2 Cor 4:8 – ἐξαπορέομαι/ ܗܘܐ ܡܦܩ 1:8 – ἐξαπορέομαι/ ܐܘ ܢܦܩ or ܐܘ ܢܦܩ 4:8

• ܚܪ (FSL I, 180)/ἀτενίζω/look straight at, stare (Syrᴾ ܚܪ) 2 Cor 3:7, 13

ܨܝܕܐ/θήρα/trap (Syrᴾ no c.) Rom 11:9

ܨܝܪ/μορφόω/form (Syrᴾ ܨܝܪ) Gal 4:19

  μόρφωσις/ܨܘܪܬ Rom 2:20 (Syrᴾ ܨܘܪܬ); 2 Tim 3:5 (Syrᴾ ܐܣܟܡܐ) — μορφή/ܨܘܪܬ Mk 16:12; Phil 2:6, 7 (Syrᴾ id.)

ܢܗܪ/κατ-, δι-, αὐγάζω [v.l. in NA²⁷]/see (Syrᴾ ܢܗܪ) 2 Cor 4:4

ܩܒܥ/προσηλόω/nail to (Syrᴾ ܡܚܐ) Col 2:14

ܩܘܡܐ/στάσις/standing (Syrᴾ ܩܘܡܐ) Heb 9:8

ܦܘܠܐ/σκύβαλον/dung, garbage (Syrᴾ ܙܒܠܐ) Phil 3:8

ܩܘܩܝܐ/κεραμεύς/potter (Syrᴾ ܦܚܪܐ) Rom 9:21

  κεραμεύς/ܦܚܪܐ Mt 27:7, 10 (Syrᴾ both ܦܚܪܐ)

ܡܶܩܰܬܪܶܓ/κιθαρίζω/play a harp (Syrᴾ ܡܢܩܫ) 1 Cor 14:7

ܡܫܰܒܰܚ/ἐπαινέω/commend, praise (Syrᴾ ܫܰܒܚ) 1 Cor 11:2, 17, 22

    ἐπαινέω/ܫܰܒܚ (Syrᴾ id.) Lk 16:8; Rom 15:11

ܡܩܰܘܡܳܢܽܘ/ὑπόστασις/confidence, conviction 2 Cor 9:4 (Syrᴾ no c.); 11:17 (Syrᴾ ܩܝܳܡܐ); Heb 1:3
    (Syrᴾ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ); 3:14 (Syrᴾ no c.); 11:1 (Syrᴾ no c.)

ܡܩܰܢܽܘܬܐ/ἔξις/use, practice (Syrᴾ ܡܰܠܦ) Heb 5:14

ܡܰܦܩܳܢܽܘܬܐ/ἀπουσία/absence (Syrᴾ ܡܫܰܢܐ) Phil 2:12

• ܡܰܩܢܳܢܽܘܬܐ (FSL I, 180)/ἀρχή/authority, ruling power Rom 8:38 (Syrᴾ no c.); 1 Cor 15:24 (Syrᴾ
    ܐܪܟܢܐ); Eph 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col 1:16; 2:10, 15 (Syrᴾ all six ܐܪܟܘܣ); Titus 3:1 (Syrᴾ ܐܪܟܐ)

ܐܰܘܚܕܐ/αἴνιγμα/obscure image (Syrᴾ ܦܠܐܬܐ) 1 Cor 13:12

ܙܰܘܥܐ/τρόμος/trembling (Syrᴾ ܪܬܝܬܐ) 1 Cor 2:3

    τρόμος/ܪܬܝܬܐ (Syrᴾ id.) Mk 16:8; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 6:5; Phil 2:12

ܡܰܛܥܶܐ/παραλογίζομαι/deceive, lead astray (Syrᴾ ܐܛܥܝ) Col 2:4

    παραλογίζομαι/ܐܛܥܝ Jas 1:22 (Syrᴾ id.)

ܡܰܙܺܝܥ/ἀναστατόω/agitate, unsettle (Syrᴾ ܕܠܚ) Gal 5:12

    ἀναστατόω/ܐܙܝܥ Acts 17:6 (Syrᴾ ܕܠܚ); 21:38 (Syrᴾ ܐܙܝܥ)

ܡܰܫܒܬܳܢܐ/σαββατισμός/a Sabbath day's rest (Syrᴾ ܢܝܳܚܐ) Heb 4:9

ܡܫܰܥܝܳܢܐ/κολακεία/flattery (Syrᴾ ܢܣܒ ܒܐܦ̈ܐ) 1 Thess 2:5

ܩܢܝܳܢܐ/περιποίησις/gaining; possession; preserving (Syrᴾ ܚܝ̈ܐ) 1 Thess 5:9; 2 Thess 2:14
    (Syrᴾ no c.); Heb 10:39 (Syrᴾ ܐܚܝ); 1 Pet 2:9 (Syrᴾ ܚܝ̈ܐ)

    περιποίησις/ܡܩܰܢܝ ܘܡܫܰܟܢ (Syrᴾ ܐܚܝ ܘܦܪܩ) Eph 1:14

ܡܰܣܩܳܢܽܘܬܐ/προκοπή/progress Phil 1:12 (Syrᴾ ܐܙܠ ܩܕܡܰܘ); 25 (Syrᴾ ܠܐܘܚܕܐ); 1 Tim 4:15 (Syrᴾ ܐܙܠ
    ܩܕܡܰܘ)

ܡܰܘܗܰܒܬܐ/χάρισμα/gift (as an expression of divine grace) (Syrᴾ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ) Rom 6:23; in all other
    cases χάρισμα = ܛܝܒܘܬܐ

• ܫܰܟܢ (FSL I, 181)/χαρίζομαι/bestow on; deal graciously with (Syrᴾ ܝܰܗܒ) Rom 8:32; 1 Cor
    2:12; 2 Cor 2:7, 10; 12:13; Gal 3:18; Eph 4:32 (twice); Phil 1:29; 2:9; Col 2:13; Philem 22

ܫܽܘܚܠܦܐ/μετάθεσις/removal, change; taking up (of Enoch) Heb 7:12 (Syrᴾ ܫܽܘܚܠܦܐ); 11:5 (Syrᴾ
    ܫܰܢܝ); 12:27 (Syrᴾ ܫܽܘܚܠܦܐ)

ܫܽܘܪܳܪܐ/βεβαίωσις/confirmation (Syrᴾ ܫܪܝܪ) Phil 1:7; Heb 6:16

ܝܳܩܶܕ/πυρόομαι/burn (with sexual desire) (Syrᴾ ܢܩܕ) 1 Cor 7:9; 2 Cor 11:29

ܡܝܰܩܕܐ/πεπυρωμένος/inflamed (Syrᴾ ܝܩܝܪ) Eph 6:16 — ܝܳܩܶܕ/φλογίζω/set on fire Jas
    3:6 (Syrᴾ ܐܘܩܕ)

ܡܰܫܠܝܽܘܬܐ/ἡσυχία/silence, quietness (Syrᴾ ܫܠܝܐ) 2 Thess 3:12

    ἡσυχία/ܫܠܝܐ 1 Tim 2:11, 12; Acts 22:2

• ܐܬܡܲܟ݂ܟ݂ (FSL I, 181)/ χαλάομαι/lower, let down 2 Cor 11:33 (Syrᵖ ܡܟ݂)

ܐܟ݂ܣܝܘܬ/εἰλικρίνεια/sincerity (Syrᵖ ܘܕܟ݂ܝܘ) 1 Cor 5:8; 2 Cor 1:12; 2:17 (Syrᵖ ܒܪܝܪ)

ܐܬܚܦ݂ܛ/φιλοτιμέομαι/endeavour, aspire (Syrᵖ ܐܬܟ݂ܫܦ) 1 Thess 4:11

    φιλοτιμέομαι/ܐܬܟ݂ܫܦ 2 Cor 5:9 — φιλοτιμούμενον/ܡܬܚܦܛ Rom 15:20

ܗܡܝܢܐ/πάρεσις/passing by, overlooking (Syrᵖ no c.) Rom 3:25

• ܚܣܝܪܘܬ (FSL I, 181)/ἀκρασία/lack of self-control 1 Cor 7:5 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܚܫܟ݂)

    ἀκρατής/ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܢ/lacking self-control 2 Tim 3:3

ܫܒ݂ܩ/καταλείπω/leave; neglect, abandon (Syrᵖ ܡܟ݂ܠ) Heb 4:1, 9

    In all other cases καταλείπω = ܫܒ݂ܩ — ܐܫܬܚܪ/ἀπολείπομαι/leave behind; abandon Heb 4:6

• ܫܬܐܣ (FSL I, 181)/θεμελιόω/found; establish firmly (Syrᵖ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܫܪܪܝܢ ܘܐܬܩܢ) Eph 3:17; Col 1:23

    θεμελιόω/ܐܬܩܢ ܫܬܐܣ Mt 8:25; Heb 1:10 — θεμελιόω/ܐܫܪܪ 1 Pet 5:10

ܐܝܩܪܬ݂ܐ/ὄγκος/impediment (Syrᵖ ܝܘܩܪܐ) Heb 12:1

• ܐܫܡ (FSL I, 181)/ὁρίζω/determine; appoint, designate Rom 1:4 (Syrᵖ ܬܚܡ); Heb 4:7 (Syrᵖ ܫܡܡ)

    ἀφορίζω/separate; set apart, appoint is ܦܪܫ or ܐܦܪܫ in Syrʰ and Syrᵖ

ܨܦܝܪܐ/τράγος/he-goat Heb 9:12 (Syrᵖ ܕܩܢܐ), 13 (Syrᵖ ܕܚܠܝ); 10:4 (Syrᵖ ܕܩܢܐ)

• ܐܬܪܝܨܘܬ݂ (FSL I, 182)/εὐθύτης/uprightness Heb 1:8 (Syrᵖ ܥܫܠܝ)

• ܐܬܘܨܕܬ݂ (FSL I, 182)/τροφή/food, nourishment Heb 5:12, 14 (Syrᵖ both ܡܐܟ݂ܘܠܬ݂ܐ); διατροφή/ܐܬܘܨܕܬ݂ 1 Tim 6:8 (Syrᵖ ܡܐܟ݂ܘܠܬ݂ܐ)

2.2 Proper Nouns

The following sample of proper nouns is from Romans 16. The Massora is taken from *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* II,1 503–545.

    Sigla: ms J = ms syr. 37 of St Mark Monastery, Jerusalem; ms O = ms New Coll. 333 (Oxford); ms C = ms Add. 1700 of the University Library, Cambridge. The *lemma* is always ms J, the spelling(s) of the Cambridge and Oxford manuscripts are explicitly given where different from J. Ms J which ends with Heb 2:5 (ܚܡܠܐܟ݂ܐ) does not adopt the extreme Greek spelling of the Greek words as ms C and especially O:

ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ/Οὐρβανός Rom 16:9 (Syrᵖ ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ and ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ

ܐܝܣܘܢ / ms C ܐܝܣܘܢ/Ἰάσων Rom 16:21 (Syrᵖ ܐܝܣܘܢ)

    Massora: ܐܝܣܘܢ, ܐܝܣܘܢ, and ܐܝܣܘܢ

ܐܟ݂ܐܝܐ / ms C ܐܟ݂ܐܝܐ/ms O ܐܟ݂ܐܝܐ/Ἀχαΐα Rom 16:5 (Syrᵖ ܐܟ݂ܐܝܐ)

    Massora: ܐܟ݂ܐܝܐ

ܐܘܠܘܡܦܐܣ/Ὀλυμπᾶς Rom 16:15 (Syrᵖ ܐܘܠܘܡܦܐܣ)

Massora: ܐܘܟܡܛܐ, ܐܟܘܡܛܐ, and ܟܘܡܛܐ

ܐܡܦܠܝܘܣ/Ἀμπλιᾶς Rom 16:8 (Syrᵖ ܐܡܦܠܝܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܡܦܠܐ

ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ/Ἀνδρόνικος Rom 16:7 (Syrᵖ ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܢܕܪܘܢܩܘܣ and ܐܢܕܪܘܢܩܘܣ

ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ/Ἀσύγκριτος Rom 16:14 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ, ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ (sic), and ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ

ܐܣܛܟܘܣ/ ms C ܐܣܛܟܘܣ/Στάχυς Rom 16:9 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܛܟܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܣܛܟܘܣ, ܐܣܛܟܘܣ

ܐܦܠܐܘܣ/ ms C ܐܦܠܟܘܣ/ms O ܐܦܠܟܘܣ/Ἀπελλῆς Rom 16:10 (Syrᵖ ܐܦܠܐ)

    Massora: ܐܦܠܟ and ܐܦܠܟ

ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ/ ms C ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ/ ms O ܐܦܘܢܝܛܘܣ/Ἐπαίνετος Rom 16:5 (Syrᵖ ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ, ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ, ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ, and ܐܦܢܝܛܘܣ

ܐܩܘܠܘܣ/ mss C and O ܐܩܘܠܐܘܣ/Ἀκύλας Rom 16:3 (Syrᵖ ܐܩܘܠܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܩܘܠܐ, ܐܩܘܠܐ, and ܐܩܘܠܐ

ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ/ms C ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ/Ἀριστόβουλος Rom 16:10 (Syrᵖ ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ)

    Massora: ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ

ܗܪܡܐܣ/Ἑρμᾶς Rom 16:14 (Syrᵖ ܗܪܡܐ)

    Massora: ܗܪܡܐ

ܗܪܡܝܣ/Ἑρμῆς Rom 16:14 (Syrᵖ ܗܪܡܐ)

    Massora: ܗܪܡܝܣ

ܓܐܝܘܣ/ms O ܓܐܝܘܣ/Γάϊος Rom 16:23 (Syrᵖ ܓܐܝܘܣ)

    Massora: ܓܐܝܘܣ

ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ/mss C and O ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ/Ἡρῳδίων Rom 16:11 (Syrᵖ ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ)

    Massora: ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ, ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ, and ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ

ܛܪܛܝܘܣ/ms O ܛܪܛܝܘܣ/ܛܪܛܝܘܣ/Τέρτιος Rom 16:22 (Syrᵖ ܛܪܛܝܘܣ)

    Massora: ܛܪܛܝܘܣ and ܛܪܛܝܘܣ

ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ/ms C ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ/Τιμόθεος Rom 16:21 (Syrᵖ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ)

    Massora: ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ

ܛܪܘܦܘܣܐ/ ms O ܛܪܘܦܘܣܐ/Τρυφῶσα Rom 16:12 (Syrᵖ ܛܪܘܦܘܣܐ)

    Massora: ܛܪܘܦܘܣܐ and ܛܪܘܦܘܣܐ

ܛܪܘܦܢܐ/ms O ܛܪܘܦܢܐ/Τρύφαινα Rom 16:12 (Syrᵖ ܛܪܘܦܢܐ)

    Massora: ܛܪܘܦܢܐ and ܛܪܘܦܢܐ

ܝܘܠܝܐ/ms C ܝܘܠܝܐ/Ἰουλία Rom 16:15 (Syrᵖ ܝܘܠܝܐ)

    Massora: ܝܘܠܝܐ

ܝܘܢܝܐ/ms C ܝܘܢܝܐ/Ἰουνιᾶς or Ἰουνία Rom 16:7 (Syrᵖ ܝܘܢܝܐ)

    Massora: ܝܘܢܝܐ and ܝܘܢܝܐ

ܠܘܩܝܘܣ/Λούκιος Rom 16:21 (Syrᵖ ܠܘܩܝܘܣ)

Massora: ܠܘܩܝܘܣ

ܡܪܝܡ/Μαρία Rom 16:6 (Syrᵖ ܡܪܝܡ)

Massora: ܡܪܝܡ and ܡܪܝܡ

ܢܐܪܐܘܣ/ms C ܢܝܪܐܘܣ/ms O ܢܝܪܐܘܣ/Νηρεύς Rom 16:15 (Syrᵖ ܢܐܪܘܣ)

Massora: ܢܝܪܐ

ܢܪܩܣܘܣ/mss C and O ܢܪܩܣܘܣ/Νάρκισσος Rom 16:11 (Syrᵖ ܢܪܩܣܘܣ)

Massora: ܢܪܩܣܘܣ, ܒܪܩܣܘܣ, and ܢܐܪܩܣܘܣ

ܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ/mss C and O ܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ/Σωσίπατρος Rom 16:21 (Syrᵖ ܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ)

Massora: ܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ

ܦܘܒܐ/mss C and O ܦܘܒܐ/Φοίβη Rom 16:1 (Syrᵖ ܦܘܒܐ)

Massora: ܦܘܒܐ

ܦܛܪܘܒܐܣ/mss C and O ܦܛܪܘܒܐܣ/Πατροβᾶς Rom 16:14 (Syrᵖ ܦܛܪܘܒܐܣ)

Massora: ܦܛܪܘܒܐܣ, ܦܛܪܘܒܐ, and ܦܛܪܘܒܐ

ܦܝܠܠܓܘܣ/Φιλόλογος Rom 16:15 (Syrᵖ ܦܝܠܠܓܘܣ)

Massora: ܦܝܠܠܓܘܣ, ܦܝܠܠܓܘܣ, and ܦܝܠܠܓܘܣ

ܦܠܓܘܢ/Φλέγων Rom 16:14 (Syrᵖ ܦܠܓܘܢ)

Massora: ܦܠܓܘܢ, ܦܠܓܘܢ, and ܦܠܓܘܢ

ܦܪܝܣܩܠܐ/mss C and O ܦܪܝܣܩܠܐ/Πρίσκιλλα Rom 16:3 (Syrᵖ ܦܪܝܣܩܠܐ)

Massora: ܦܪܝܣܩܠܐ

ܦܪܣܝܣ/ms C ܦܪܣܝܣ/Περσίς Rom 16:12 (Syrᵖ ܦܪܣܝܣ)

Massora: ܦܪܣܝܣ

ܩܘܐܪܛܘܣ/Κούαρτος Rom 16:23 (Syrᵖ id.)

Massora: ܩܘܐܪܛܘܣ and ܩܘܐܪܛܘܣ

ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ/ms C ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ/Κεγχρεαί Rom 16:1 (Syrᵖ ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ)

Massora: ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ, ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ, and ܩܢܟܪܐܘܣ

ܪܘܦܘܣ/Ῥοῦφος Rom 16:13 (Syrᵖ ܪܘܦܘܣ)

Massora: ܪܘܦܘܣ and ܪܘܦܘܣ

2.3 Greek Words

ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ/εὐαγγελιστής/evangelist (Syrᵖ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ) Eph 4:11; 2 Tim 4:5; Acts 21:8

ܐܝܛܐ/εἶτα/after all *or* in the case of Heb 12:9 (Syrᵖ ܘܗܝ)

εἶτα /ܐܝܛܐ Mk 4:17 (Syrᵖ ܘ), 28 (Syrᵖ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ); 8:25 (Syrᵖ ܘ); Lk 8:12 (Syrᵖ ܘ); Jn 13:5 (Syrᵖ ܘ);
19:27 (Syrᵖ ܘ); 20:27 (Syrᵖ ܘ); 1 Cor 15:5 (Syrᵖ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ), 24 (Syrᵖ ܗܝܕܝܢ); 1 Tim 2:13 (Syrᵖ ܗܝܕܝܢ);
3:10 (Syrᵖ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ); Jas 1:15 (Syrᵖ ܘ)

ܐܝܩܢܘܡܐ/οἰκονόμος/steward; treasurer; trustee (Syrᵖ ܪܒ ܒܝܬܐ) Gal 4:2

οἰκονόμος/ܪܒ ܒܝܬܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Rom 16:23; 1 Cor 4:1, 2; Titus 1:7; 1 Pet 4:10

ܐܢܚܦܣܘܗܝ ܗܘ/ὁ ἀνεψιός/cousin (Syrᵖ ܟܐ ܒܪ) Col 4:10

ܐܢܩܘܪܐ/ἄγκυρα/anchor (Syrᵖ ܐܘܩܢܐ) Heb 6:19

ܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ/ἐπισκοπή 1 Tim 3:1 (Syrᵖ ܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ); Acts 1:20 (Syrᵖ ܡܫܡܫܢܘ)

ἐπισκοπή/ܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ Lk 19:44 (Syrᵖ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ); 1 Pet 2:12 (Syrᵖ ܒܘܚܪܢܐ) — ἐπισκοπέω/ܣܥܪ Heb 12:15 (Syrᵖ ܚܙܐ) — ἐπισκοπέω/ܣܥܪ 1 Pet 5:2 (Syrᵖ id.)

• ܐܪܐ (FSL I, 184)/ἄρα/therefore, then (Syrᵖ ܗܟܝܠ or no c.) Acts 7:1; 8:22; 11:18; 12:18; 17:27; 21:38; Rom 5:18; 7:3, 21, 25; 8:1, 12; 9:16, 18; 10:17; 14:12, 19; 1 Cor 5:10; 6:20; 7:14; 15:14, 15, 18; 2 Cor 1:17; 5:14; 7:12; Gal 2:21; 3:7, 29; 4:31; 5:11; 6:10; Eph 2:19; 1 Thess 5:6; 2 Thess 2:15; Heb 4:9; 12:8

• ܐܪܐ/ἆρα/interrogative particle expecting a negative response Gal 2:17 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܡܐ)

ܐܬܠܝܛܘܬܐ/ἄθλησις (Syrᵖ ܐܓܘܢܐ) Heb 10:32

ܚܕ ܐܬܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܥܡ/συναθλέω/fight or work together with Phil 1:27 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܟܬܫ ܐܟܚܕܐ); 4:3 (Syrᵖ ܥܡ ܠܐܝ) — ἀθλέω/ܐܬܠܛ 2 Tim 2:5 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܗܪܣܘܬܐ/αἵρεσις/religious party; division (Syrᵖ ܣܕܩܐ) 1 Cor 11:19; Gal 5:20 (Syrᵖ ܚܪܝܢܐ); Acts 5:17; 15:5; 24:5, 14; 26:5; 28:22 (in Acts Syrᵖ all ܝܘܠܦܢܐ)

ܗܪܣܝܘܛܐ/αἱρετικός/causing divisions (Syrᵖ ܗܪܣܝܘܛܐ) Titus 3:10

ܛܒܥ/ἐντυπόω/engrave, carve (Syrᵖ ܪܫܡ) 2 Cor 3:7

ܗܘܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ/χειροτονέω/appoint; choose (Syrᵖ ܓܒܐ) 2 Cor 8:19

χειροτονέω/ܡܬܝܕܥ ܚܕ (Syrᵖ ܐܩܝܡ) Acts 14:23

ܠܣܛܝܐ/λῃστής/robber (Syrᵖ ܓܝܣܐ) 2 Cor 11:26

In the Gospels λῃστής = ܓܝܣܐ

• ܡܐܠܟܘܢ (FSL I, 184)/ܡܟܟ/ μᾶλλον/(much) more (Syrᵖ mainly ܝܬܝܪ, or no c.) Acts 4:19; 5:29; 20:35; 27:11; 2 Cor 8:13; 12:9; Gal 4:9, 27; Eph 4:28; 1 Thess 4:10; 2 Tim 3:4; Philem 9; Heb 12:13

In all other cases μᾶλλον is rendered by ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ

ܡܡܒܪܢܐ/μεμβράνα/parchment (Syrᵖ ܣܦܪܐ ܘܓܠܝܠܐ) 2 Tim 4:13

ܢܘܓ/ναυαγέω/be shipwrecked (Syrᵖ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܢܘܛܐ) 2 Cor 11:25; 1 Tim 1:19 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܢܟܝܘ)

• ܢܡܘܣܐ (FSL I, 185)/νομικός/pertaining to the law; lawyer Titus 3:9, 13 (Syrᵖ ܣܦܪܐ)

ܣܘܣܛܛܝܩܐ/συστατικός/commendatory 2 Cor 3:1 (twice) (Syrᵖ ܡܢ / ܡܢ ܩܘܒܠܐ¹⁺²) (ܩܦܡ)

ܣܛܡܢܘܣ/στάμνος/jar (Syrᵖ ܩܣܛܐ) Heb 9:4

ܣܛܘܟܣܐ/στοιχεῖα/elements; basic principles (Syrᵖ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ) Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20

ܣܛܘܟܣܐ/στοιχεῖα (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ) Heb 5:12

ܦܝܕܓܘܓܐ/παιδαγωγός/instructor, teacher (Syrᵖ ܪܒܐ) 1 Cor 4:15; Gal 3:24, 25

ܦܠܟܢܐ/φαιλόνης/cloak (Syrᵖ ܢܚܬܐ) 2 Tim 4:13

ܦ̈ܝܠܣܘܦܘܬܐ/φιλοσοφία/philosophy (Syrᵖ ܦ̈ܝܠܣܘܦܐ) Col 2:8

ܠܘ̈ܚܐ/πλάκες/tablets (Syrᵖ ܦܬܟܡܐ) 2 Cor 3:3; Heb 9:4

ܡܟܕܘ̈ܦܘܬܐ̈ܢܐ/πληροφορέω/be accomplished, carried out fully (Syrᵖ ܐܡܠܝ) Rom 4:21; 2 Tim 4:5, 17 (Syrᵖ ܡܠܟܡ)

πληροφορημένος/ܡܡܠܝܟܡܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Col 4:12 — ܡܟܕܘ̈ܦܘܬܐ̈ܢܐ/πληροφορία/full assurance, certainty Col 2:2; 1 Thess 1:5 (Syrᵖ both ܫܪܐ); Heb 6:11 (Syrᵖ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ); 10:22 (Syrᵖ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ)

• ܦܝܢܟ (FSL I, 185)/παραγγέλλω/command, order (Syrᵖ ܦܩܕ) 1 Cor 7:10; 11:17; 1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:4, 6, 10, 12; 1 Tim 1:3; 4:11; 5:7; 6:13 (Syrᵖ ܦܩܕ), 17

παραγγελία/ܦܘܟܕܢܐ (Syrᵖ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ) 1 Tim 1:5

ܒܙ̈ܢܐܘ̈ܡܥܕܐ (ms J)/ܒܙ̈ܢܐ̈ܡܥܕܐ (ms C)/ ܒܙ̈ܢܐ̈ܘܡܥܕܐ (ms O [= Ed. White]/προθεσμία/ set time (Syrᵖ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܩܘܡ) Gal 4:2

ܦ̈ܩܝܕܡܐ/παραθήκη/what is entrusted to one's care 1 Tim 6:20 (Syrᵖ ܟܬܠ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܗܝܡܢ); 2 Tim 1:12, 14 (Syrᵖ both ܓܘܥܠܢܐ)

ܡܘܦܟ̈ܠܟܘܡܢ ms C/ ܪܝܫܐ ms O /κεφάλαιον/main point, summary (Syrᵖ ܪܝܫܐ) Heb 8:1

ܡܘܦܟܠܐ ms C/ ܡܘܦܟܠܐ ms O/κεφάλαιον/sum of money (Syrᵖ ܩܦܠܐ) Acts 22:28

ܡܕܒ̈ܪܢܝܘܬܐ/κυβέρνησις/ability to lead (Syrᵖ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ) 1 Cor 12:28

ܦܘܓܪܐ/κῶλον/dead body, corpse (Syrᵖ ܦܓܪܐ) Heb 3:17

ܩܢܘܢܐ/κανών/limits, sphere, area; rule, principle 2 Cor 10:13 (Syrᵖ ܩܢܘܢܐ), 15, 16 (Syrᵖ both ܬܚܘܡܐ); Gal 6:16 (Syrᵖ ܛܟܣܐ)

ܡܦܩܕܘܬܐ ܚܒܠ/καπηλεύω/peddle for profit (Syrᵖ ܡܙܒܢ)

2.4 Syriac "Compounds"

ܩܕܝ̈ܡܝ ܡܘܠܕܐ/πρόγονοι/parents, forefathers (Syrᵖ ܐܒܗܐ) 2 Tim 1:3

πρόγονοι/ܡܘܠܕܢܐ (Syrᵖ ܐܒܗܐ) 1 Tim 5:4

ܟܝܢ ܒܝܫܐ/κακοήθεια/meanness (Syrᵖ ܡܣܟܠܢܘܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ) Rom 1:29

ܒܣܝ̈ܡܘܬ ܡܠܬܐ/χρηστολογία/smooth, plausible talk (Syrᵖ ܡܠܐ ܒܣܝ̈ܡܬܐ) Rom 16:18

ܒܣܝ̈ܡܘܬ ܪܝܚܐ/εὐωδία/sweet smell (Syrᵖ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ) Eph 5:2; Phil 4:18

εὐωδία/ܒܣܝܡܘܬ ܪܝܚܐ; 2 Cor 2:15

ܓܙܪ ܕܝܢܐ/ἀπόκριμα/sentence (of death) (Syrᵖ ܦܣܩ) 2 Cor 1:9

ܓܠܝܙ/τετραχηλισμένος/laid bare, exposed (Syrᵖ ܓܠܐ) Heb 4:13

ܕܓܠ ܫܡܐ/ψευδώνυμος/falsely called, so-called (Syrᵖ ܕܓܠ) 1 Tim 6:20

ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܚܠܬܐ/ἐθελοθρησκία/self-imposed piety or religion (Syrᵖ ܣܟܠ ܕܚܠܬܐ) Col 2:23

ܙܘܓ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ/ἑτεροζυγέω/be mismated (Syrᵖ ܢܙܕܘܓ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ) 2 Cor 6:14

ܡܕܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ/οἰκοδεσποτέω/run the household (Syrᵖ ܝܕܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ) 1 Tim 5:14

ܨܝܕ/ζωγρέω/catch, capture (Syrᵖ ܨܝ) 2 Tim 2:26

ζωγρέω/ܨܳܕ Lk 5:10

ܡܶܢܬ ܡܰܘܬܳܐ/ἐπιθανάτιος/sentenced to death (Syrᵖ ܕܰܠܡܰܘܬܳܐ) 1 Cor 4:9

ܡܶܡ ܡܶܬܬܰܢܚܳܐ/μετριοπαθέω/be gentle (with), have feeling (for) (Syrᵖ ܐܰܚܶܕ ܪܶܓܬܗ ܡܶܡ) Heb 5:2

ܠܗܰܠ ܬܰܪܒܝܳܐ/νεόφυτος/recently converted (Syrᵖ ܠܗܰܠ ܠܳܐܘܪܰܒܝܳܐ ܗܘܳܐ) 1 Tim 3:6

ܡܰܘܠܳܕ ܝܰܠܕܳܐ/τεκνογονία/childbirth (Syrᵖ ܡܰܟܒܰܪ) 1 Tim 2:15

τεκνογονέω/ܝܰܠܕܳܐ ܬܶܠܕܳܢ 1 Tim 5:14

ܚܘܽܕܳܬܳܐ ܕܬܶܢܝܳܢ ܘܰܕܩܽܘܒܽܘܨ/παλιγγενεσία/rebirth, new birth; next world (Syrᵖ ܚܘܽܕܳܟܪܳܐ ܕܬܶܢܝܳܢ ܘܰܕܩܽܘܒܽܘܨ) Titus 3:5

παλιγγενεσία/ܘܰܕܩܽܘܒܽܘܨ ܒܥܳܠܡܳܐ (Syrᵖ ܒܚܘܽܕܳܬܳܐ ܕܥܳܠܡܳܐ) Mt 19:28

ܬܶܬܪܰܥܡ ܝܰܬܝܪ/ὑπερφρονέω/hold too high an opinion of oneself (Syrᵖ ܬܶܬܪܰܥܡ) Rom 12:3

ܡܦܺܝܣ ܚܠܳܦ/ὑπερεντυγχάνω/intercede, plead (for someone) (Syrᵖ ܒܳܥܶܐ) Rom 8:26

ܐܰܒܳܐ ܩܳܛܘܽܠܳܐ/πατρολῴας/one who murders his father (Syrᵖ ܐܰܝܢܳܐ ܕܩܳܛܶܠ ܠܰܐܒܽܘܗܝ) 1 Tim 1:9

ܐܶܡܳܐ ܩܳܛܘܽܠܳܐ/μητρολῴας/one who murders his mother (Syrᵖ ܐܰܝܢܳܐ ܕܩܳܛܶܠ ܠܶܐܡܶܗ) 1 Tim 1:9

ܐܳܡܰܪ ܒܦܶܠܳܐܬܳܐ ܡܶܛܽܠ - ܐܰܠܶܓܳܪܳܐ/ἀλληγορέω/speak (of) allegorically (Syrᵖ ܡܶܛܽܠ ܕܗܳܠܶܝܢ) Gal 4:24

ܕܰܓܳܠܳܐ ܘܰܢܟܺܝܠܳܐ/ψευδολόγος/liar 1 Tim 4:2 (Syrᵖ ܒܡܶܠܬܳܐ ܕܰܓܳܠܳܐ ܘܰܢܟܺܝܠܳܐ, *v.l.* ܢܟܺܝܠܬܳܐ)

ܓܘܽܢܳܝܳܐ ܘܨܽܘܚܝܳܐ/καταλαλία/slander, insult (Syrᵖ ܡܶܐܟܰܠܩܰܪܨܳܐ) 2 Cor 12:20; 1 Pet 2:1

ܘܫܰܪܒܳܬܳܐ/γενεαλογίαι/genealogies (Syrᵖ ܠܫܰܪܒܳܬܳܐ ܘܰܠܬܶܫܥܝܳܬܳܐ) 1 Tim 1:4; Titus 3:9

γενεαλογέομαι/ܘܫܰܪܒܳܬܶܗ ܐܶܬܐܰܡܪܰܬ /descent from (Syrᵖ ܕܰܫܪܰܒܬܶܗ ܐܶܬܐܰܡܪܰܬ) Heb 7:6

ܡܦܝܳܣܳܢܘܽܬܳܐ ܕܡܶܠܬܳܐ/πιθανολογία/attractive (but false) argument (Syrᵖ ܒܦܝܳܣܳܐ ܕܡܶܠܬܳܐ) Col 2:4

ܡܰܘܕܶܐ ܒܛܰܝܒܽܘܬܳܐ/εὐχάριστος/thankful, grateful Col 3:15 (Syrᵖ ܗܘܰܝܬܽܘܢ ܡܰܘܕܶܝܢ); Titus 2:9 (Syrᵖ ܢܶܫܦܰܪ = εὐάρεστος, cf. NA²⁷)

ܠܳܐ ܡܰܘܕܶܐ ܒܛܰܝܒܽܘܬܳܐ/ἀχάριστος (Syrᵖ ܥܰܠ ܛܳܒ̈ܶܐ ܘܥܰܠ ܒܝܺܫ̈ܶܐ) Lk 6:35; 2 Tim 3:2

ܐܽܘܪܚܳܐ ܡܰܪܕܝܺܬܳܐ/ὁδοιπορία/journey (Syrᵖ ܐܽܘܪܚܳܐ) 2 Cor 11:26

ὁδοιπορία/ܡܰܪܕܝܺܬܳܐ ܘܡܶܢ ܐܽܘܪܚܳܐ Jn 4:6

ܡܰܓܪܰܬ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ/μακροθυμία/patience (Syrᵖ ܒܣܽܘܓܐܳܐ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ) Rom 2:4; 9:22; 2 Cor 6:6 (Syrᵖ ܡܰܓܪܰܬ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ); Gal 5:22; Eph 4:2 (Syrᵖ ܒܡܰܓܪܰܬ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ); Col 1:11; 3:12 (Syrᵖ ܡܰܓܪܰܬ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ); 1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 3:10 (Syrᵖ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ ܡܰܓܪܰܬ); 4:2; Heb 6:12 (Syrᵖ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ); Jas 5:10; 1 Pet 3:20

μακροθυμέω/ܘܰܐܓܰܪ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Mt 18:26, 29; Lk 18:7; 1 Cor 13:4 (Syrᵖ ܡܰܓܪܰܬ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ); 1 Thess 5:14; Heb 6:15; Jas 5:7, 8 — μακροθύμως/ܪܽܘܚܳܐ (Syrᵖ ܒܣܽܘܓܐܳܐ ܪܽܘܚܳܐ) Acts 26:3

ܡܰܣܰܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ/προσωπολημψία/favoritism (Syrᵖ ܡܰܣܰܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ) Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; Col 3:15

προσωπολημψία/ܒܡܰܣܰܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ (Syrᵖ ܡܰܣܰܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ) Jas 2:1 — προσωπολημπτέω/ܢܳܣܶܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ (Syrᵖ ܢܳܣܶܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ) Jas 2:9 — προσωπολήμπτης/ܢܳܣܶܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ (Syrᵖ ܢܳܣܶܒ ܒܰܐܦ̈ܶܐ) Acts 10:34

ܒܪܽܘܚܳܐ ܐܶܬܟܬܶܒ/θεόπνευστος/inspired by God (Syrᵖ ܕܒܪܽܘܚܳܐ ܟܽܠ ܟܬܳܒ) 2 Tim 3:16

• ܡܿܕ݂ܡ ܝܿܩܝܪܐ /πολυτελής/costly; of great value (Syrᵖ ܡܝܩܪܐ) 1 Tim 2:9 (FSL I, 186)
πολυτελής/ܡܝܩܪܐ ܘܣܓܝ (Syrᵖ; ܘܡܩܪ ܐܝܟܐ) 1 Pet 3:4

ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܿܕ݂ܡ /πολυποίκιλος/in varied forms (Syrᵖ ܣܓܝ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ) Eph 3:10

ܒܢܝܫܐ ܣܓܝ݂ܐܐ /πολυτρόπως/in many ways (Syrᵖ ܣܓܝ ܘܒܙܢܐ) Heb 1:1

ܒܡܢܘܬܐ ܣܓܝ݂ܐܐ /πολυμερῶς/little by little, many times (Syrᵖ ܣܓܝ ܡܢܘܢ) Heb 1:1

ܘܬܪܬܐ ܡܿܝܬܪܘܬܐ /ὑπερβολή/surpassing or outstanding quality 2 Cor 4:7 (Syrᵖ ܬܪܬܐ); 12:7 (Syrᵖ ܪܒܘܬܐ)

καθ' ὑπερβολήν/ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܚܣܝܪܐ Rom 7:13 (Syrᵖ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ) 1 Cor 12:31 (Syrᵖ ܝܬܝܪ ܗܘ) 4:17 (Syrᵖ ܕܝܢ); Gal 1:13 (Syrᵖ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ) 2 Cor 1:8 (Syrᵖ ܣܓܝ ܗܘ ܚܣܝܪܐ) (ܚܣܝܪܐ); ܘܠܐ ܣܟܐ 2 Cor 4:17 (Syrᵖ ܚܣܝܪܐ)

• ܠܚܡܐ (ܒܣܝܡܐ) ܩܘܪܒܢܐ (FSL I, 187)/(ἄρτοι τῆς) προθέσεως/bread offered to God (Syrᵖ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܘܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܝܢܐ) Heb 9:2 (no seyame!); (Syrᵖ ܠܚܡܐ)

πρόθεσις/ܨܒܝܢܐ Acts 11:23; 27:13; Rom 8:28; 9:11; 2 Tim 3:10 — πρόθεσις/ܣܝܡܐ ܡܩܕܡܬܐ Eph 1:11; 3:11; 2 Tim 1:9

ܡܿܨܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܚܪܝܢܘܬܐ /ἀντιλογία/argument, dispute; hostility, rebellion (Syrᵖ ܚܪܝܢܐ) Heb 12:3
ἀντιλογία/ܚܪܝܢܐ Heb 6:16; 7:7 (Syrᵖ twice id.)

• ܘܬܪܬܐ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ (FSL I, 187)/διαλογισμός/thought, motive (Syrᵖ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ) 1 Tim 2:8
διαλογισμός/ܡܚܫܒܬܐ Rom 1:21; 14:1; 1 Cor 3:20; Phil 2:14; Jas 2:4

ܘܬܪܬܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܣܪܝܩܐ /ματαιολογία/empty talk (Syrᵖ ܣܪܝܩܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ) 1 Tim 1:6

ܘܬܪܬܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ /κενοφωνία/foolish talk 1 Tim 6:20 (Syrᵖ ܒܢܝ ܩܠܐ ܘܡܡܠܠܐ)
κενοφωνία/ܩܠܐ ܘܡܡܠܠܐ 2 Tim 2:16 (Syrᵖ ܒܢܝ ܘܡܡܠܠܐ)

ܣܐܡ ⁻ ܩܕ݂ܡܝܐ /προτίθεμαι/plan, intend Rom 1:13 (Syrᵖ ܨܒܝܬ)
προτίθεμαι/ܩܕܡ ܣܐܡ (Syrᵖ id.) Rom 3:25; Eph 1:9

ܡܬܟܬܫ ܐܟܚܕܐ ܥܡ /συναθλέω/fight or work together with Phil 1:27 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܟܬܫܘ ܐܟܚܕ) 4:3 (Syrᵖ ܥܡܝ ܠܐܝ)
ܐܓܘܢܐ /ἄθλησις (Syrᵖ ܟܬܘܫܝܐ) Heb 10:32 — ἀθλέω/ܡܬܟܬܫ 2 Tim 2:5 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܐܚܒ ܚܝܐ /ζωοποιέω/give life to (Syrᵖ ܡܚܐ) 1 Cor 15:45
ζωοποιέω/ܐܚܝ (Syrᵖ id.) Rom 4:17; 8:11; 2 Cor 3:6; Gal 3:21 — ζωοποιέομαι/ܚܝܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Jn 5:21 (twice); 1 Cor 15:22, 36 — ζωοποιέομαι/ܐܬܚܝܝ (Syrᵖ ܚܝܐ) 1 Pet 3:18

ܕܥܒܪ ܙܒܢܗ /ὑπέρακμος/past the best age of marriage (Syrᵖ ܥܒܪ ܙܒܢܗ) 1 Cor 7:36

ܐܬܕܟܪ /ἐκνήφω/come to one's senses (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܟܪܘ ܠܟܘܢ) 1 Cor 15:34
νήφω/ܐܬܕܟܪ/be sober; be self-controlled 1 Thess 5:6 (Syrᵖ ܟܕ ܥܝܪܝܢ), 8 (Syrᵖ ܟܕ ܕܟܝܪܝܢ); 2 Tim 4:5 (Syrᵖ ܟܕ); 1 Pet 1:13 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܟܪܘ); 4:7 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܕܟܪܘ); 5:8 (Syrᵖ ܐܬܬܥܝܪܘ)

ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ /ὀφθαλμοδουλία/service rendered merely for the sake of impressing others (Syrᵖ ܦܘܠܚܢ ܥܝܢܐ) Eph 6:4; Col 3:22

ܒܡܥܠܬܐ ܥܠ /παρεισέρχομαι/come in, slip in (Syrᵖ ܥܠ) Rom 5:20

παρεισέρχομαι/ܥܠ Gal 2:4 (Syrᵖ ܥܠ)

ܐܝܢܐ ܟܝ ܣܪܝܩܐ ܘܡܬܦܢܝܢ/περίεργος/busybody (Syrᵖ ܕܦܗܝܢ) 1 Tim 5:13

τὰ περίεργα/ܚܪܫܐ Acts 19:19 (Syrᵖ ܚܪܫܐ)

ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܩܘܕܫܐ /ܐܝܟ ܒܐܣܟܡܐ ܕܝܠ/ἱεροπρεπής/reverent (Syrᵖ) Titus 2:3

ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ /ἀντιμισθία/response, return Rom 1:27 (Syrᵖ ܐܝܢܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ); 2 Cor 6:13 (Syrᵖ ܚܠܦܘ ܦܢܝܘ)

ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ/μισθαποδοσία/reward; retribution Heb 2:2 (Syrᵖ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ); 10:35 (Syrᵖ ܐܝܢܐ); 11:26 (Syrᵖ id.) — ܐܝܢܐ /ܦܪܘܥܐ/ μισθαποδότης (Syrᵖ ܦܪܘܥܐ) Heb 11:6

ܦܠܚܐ ܐܪܙܐ/γεωργός/farmer; tenant farmer; vinedresser (Syrᵖ ܐܪܙܐ) 2 Tim 2:6

γεωργός/ܐܪܙܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Jas 5:7 — γεωργός/ܦܠܚܐ in the Gospels

• ܦܠܚ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ (FSL I, 187)/δουλεύω/serve (as a slave) (Syrᵖ ܦܠܚ) Rom 14:18; 16:18; Gal 4:8, 9, 25; Eph 6:7; Phil 2:22; Col 3:24; 1 Thess 1:9; 1 Tim 6:2; Titus 3:3

δουλεύω/ܥܒܕ Rom 6:6; 7:6, 25; 9:12; 12:11 — δουλεύω/ܦܠܚ Gal 5:13

ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ/εἰδωλολατρία/idolatry (Syrᵖ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ) Gal 5:20

εἰδωλολατρία/ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ (Syrᵖ ܕܦܬܟܪܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ) 1 Pet 4:3 — εἰδωλολατρία/ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ Col 3:5

ܠܒܐ ܕܢܟܠܐ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ/πανουργία/trickery, deceit (Syrᵖ ܒܢܟܠܐ) 1 Cor 3:19

πανουργία/ܢܟܠܐ 2 Cor 4:2 (Syrᵖ id.); 11:3 (Syrᵖ ܒܢܟܠܗ); Eph 4:14 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܐܟܣܢܝܘܬܐ ܚܒܒܬ/ܡܩܒܠ/ξενίζω/entertain as a guest (Syrᵖ ܡܩܒܠ) Heb 13:2

ξενίζω/ܡܩܒܠ Acts 10:23 (Syrᵖ ܩܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܨܝܕ); 28:7 (Syrᵖ ܡܩܒܠ ܥܡܪ) — ξενίζω/ܫܪܐ Acts 10:6, 18, 32 (Syrᵖ all three ܡܩܒܠ [ܫܪܐ]); 21:16 (Syrᵖ ܡܩܒܠ ܫܪܐ)

• ܩܕܡ ܡܬܬܣܝܡ ܣܝܡܐ (FSL I, 187)/πρόθεσις/purpose, plan; loyality Eph 1:11 (Syrᵖ ܨܒܝܢܗ); 3:11 (Syrᵖ ܕܩܕܡ); 2 Tim 1:9 (Syrᵖ ܨܒܝܢܐ)

πρόθεσις/ܨܒܝܢܐ Acts 11:23; 27:13; Rom 8:28; 9:11; 2 Tim 3:10 — πρόθεσις (τῶν ἄρτων)/bread offered to God (Syrᵖ ܠܚܡ ܐܦܐ) Heb 9:2 (ܠܚܡܐ ܘܣܝܡܐ)/ܣܝܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ

ܩܛܘܠܐ /ܩܛܠ/ἀνδροφόνος/murderer (Syrᵖ ܩܛܘܠ) 1 Tim 1:9

ܩܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܐܘܨܡܐ /ܡܩܠܝܠܐ/ἐλαφρία/vacillation (Syrᵖ ܐܡܪ ܡܩܠܝܠܘܬܐ) 2 Cor 1:17

τὸ ἐλαφρόν/ܡܩܠܝܠܘܬܐ (Syrᵖ ܝܗܒ ܘܒܗܘ ܡܩܠܝܠ) 2 Cor 4:17 — ἐλαφρός/ ܩܠܝܠܐ/light, easy to bear (Syrᵖ id.) Mt 11:30

ܩܕܡ ܪܗܛܐ/ܪܗܛܐ/πρόδρομος/forerunner (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܥܠ) Heb 6:20

ܪܚܡ ܐܠܗܐ/ܪܚܡ/φιλόθεος/loving God (Syrᵖ ܫܘܚܕܗ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ) 2 Tim 3:4

ܪܚܡ ܒܣܡܬܐ/ܪܚܡ/φιλήδονος/given over to pleasure (Syrᵖ ܪܚܡ ܢܝܚ̈ܝܗܘܢ) 2 Tim 3:4

ܪܚܡ ܚܒܒ ܚܒܒܬ/ܪܚܡ/φιλόστοργος/loving, devoted (Syrᵖ ܪܚܡܝܢ ܚܒ ܠܚܒܪ) Rom 12:10

ܐ̈ܚܘܬܐ ܪܳܚܡܰܬ/φιλαδελφία/brotherly love Rom 12:10 (Syrᵖ ܠܰܐܚܘܬ ܪܶܚܡܰܬ); 1 Thess 4:9; Heb 13:1
(Syrᵖ both ܠܰܚܘܬ ܕܳܚܡܬܐ); 1 Pet 1:22 (Syrᵖ ܕܰܚܘܬܐ)

ܐܰܟܣܢܳܝܘܬܐ ܪܳܚܡܰܬ/φιλοξενία/hospitality (Syrᵖ ܐܰܟܣܢܳܝܘܬܐ ܪܶܚܡܰܬ) Rom 12:13
φιλοξενία/ܐܰܟܣܢܳܝܘܬܐ ܪܶܚܡܬܐ (Syrᵖ id.) Heb 13:2

ܐܢܳܫ̈ܘܬܐ ܪܳܚܡܰܬ/φιλανθρωπία/kindness, hospitality; (God's) love of mankind Titus 3:4 (Syrᵖ
ܡܶܬܬܪܰܚܡܳܢܘܬܐ); Acts 28:2 (Syrᵖ ܕܰܚܘܬܐ)

ܓܰܒ̈ܪܶܐ ܪܳܚܡܰܬ/φίλανδρος/loving one's husband (Syrᵖ ܒܰܥܠܰܗ ܪܳܚܡܳܐ) Titus 2:4

• ܟܺܐܦ ܪܺܝܫ (FSL I, 186)/ἀκρογωνία/cornerstone (Syrᵖ ܪܺܝܫ ܩܰܪܢܳܐ) Eph 2:20

ܟܳܗ̈ܢܶܐ ܪܺܝܫ/ἀρχιερεύς/high priest (Syrᵖ ܩܰܨܳܐ ܪܰܒ in Gospels and Acts; in Heb ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܪܰܒ)

ܐܰܪܕܺܟ̈ܠܶܐ ܪܺܝܫ/ἀρχιτέκτων/expert builder (Syrᵖ ܐܘܡܳܢܐ ܐܰܪܕܺܟܠܐ) 1 Cor 3:10

ܥܰܡܳܐ ܪܺܝܫ/ἐθνάρχης/govenor, official (Syrᵖ ܥܰܡܳܐ ܪܰܒ) 2 Cor 11:32

• ܡܫܰܐܠܳܢܘܬܐ ܡܫܰܠܡܳܢܘܬܐ (FSL I, 188)/ἀσπασμός/greeting (Syrᵖ ܫܠܳܡܐ) 1 Cor 16:21 (one Harklean
ms); Col 4:18
ἀσπασμός/ܫܠܳܡܐ 2 Thess 3:17

ܓܶܢܣܐ ܒܰܪ/συγγενής/relative; fellow-countryman (Syrᵖ ܐ̱ܢܳܫܝܢ) Rom 9:3; 16:7, 21
συγγενής/ܛܘܗܡܐ ܒܰܪ Rom 16:11

ܐܶܣܟܺܡܐ ܒܰܪ/σύμμορφος/having the same form (Syrᵖ ܐܶܣܟܺܡܗ ܒܰܪ) Rom 8:29
σύμμορφος/ܐܶܣܟܺܡܐ ܒܰܪ (Syrᵖ ܢܶܗܘܶܐ ܒܰܪ) Phil 3:21 — συμμορφιζόμενος/ܐܶܣܟܺܡܐ ܒܰܪ (Syrᵖ
ܐܶܬܕܰܡܺܝ) Phil 3:10

ܝܳܪ̈ܬܘܬܐ ܒܰܪ/συγκληρονόμος/who shares together (Syrᵖ ܝܳܪ̈ܬܘܬܐ ܒܢܰܝ) Rom 8:17; Eph 3:6; Heb
11:9; 1 Pet 3:7 (Syrᵖ ܝܳܪܬܐ ܒܰܪ)

ܢܰܦܫܐ ܒܰܪ/σύμψυχος/united in spirit, as one (Syrᵖ ܢܰܦܫܐ ܚܕܳܐ) Phil 2:2
ܢܰܦܫܐ ܒܰܪ/ἰσόψυχος/sharing the same feelings (Syrᵖ ܢܰܦܫ ܐܰܝܟ) Phil 2:20

ܢܶܨܒܬܐ ܒܰܪ/σύμφυτος/one who is united with, at one with (Syrᵖ ܐܶܬܢܨܶܒ ܒܰܪ) Rom 6:5
συμφύω/ܥܰܡ ܣܶܩ (Syrᵖ ܥܰܡ ܝܺܥܳܐ) Lk 8:7

ܦܰܓܪܐ ܒܰܪ/σύσσωμος/member of the same body (Syrᵖ ܘܒܰܪ ܦܰܓܪܐ) Eph 3:6

ܦܘܠܚܳܢܐ ܒܰܪ/συνεργός/fellow-worker (Syrᵖ ܥܰܡ ܦܳܠܚܝܢ) 1 Cor 3:9
συνεργός/ܡܥܰܕܪ̈ܢܐ Rom 16:3, 9, 21; Philem 1 (Syrᵖ all four ܥܰܡ ܦܳܠܚ); 2 Cor 1:24; 8:23; Phil 2:25;
4:3; 1 Thess 3:2 (Syrᵖ five times id.) — συνεργός/ܥܰܡ ܡܥܰܕܪ̈ܢܐ Col 4:11 (Syrᵖ ܡܥܰܕܪ̈ܢܐ) —
συστρατιώτης/ܦܳܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܒܰܪ ܥܰܡ (Syrᵖ ܥܰܡ ܦܳܠܚܐ) Phil 2:25; Philem 2

ܒܛܘܗܡܐ ܒܰܪ/συνηλικιώτης/contemporary (Syrᵖ ܡܶܢܝ ܛܰܠܝܐ) Gal 1:14

ܫܶܒܝܐ ܒܰܪ/συναιχμάλωτος/fellow-prisoner (Syrᵖ ܥܰܡ ܫܒܰܝܐ) Rom 16:7; 1 Cor 4:10; Philem
23

ܫܰܘܬܳܦܐ ܒܰܪ/συμμέτοχος/sharer, participant (Syrᵖ ܫܰܘܬܳܦܐ) Eph 3:6

ܫܰܪܒܬܐ ܒܰܪ/συμφυλέτης/fellow-countryman (Syrᵖ ܫܰܪܒܬܐ ܒܢܰܝ) 1 Thess 2:14

ܥܠܘܢܐ ܚܡܨ/αἰσχροκερδής/greedy for material gain (Syrᵖ ܝܥܒܐ ܥܠܘܢܐ) 1 Tim 3:8; Titus 1:7
αἰσχροκερδῶς/ܚܡܨܐ ܥܠܘܢܐ (Syrᵖ ܝܥܒܐ ܚܢܘܢܐ) 1 Pet 5:2

ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܡܚܕܟܐ/αἰσχρολογία/obscene speech (Syrᵖ ܝܥܒܐ ܡܚܕܟܐ) Col 3:8

• (FSL I, 188)/εὐγενής/of high *or* noble birth (Syrᵖ ܠܝܗܘܡܕ ܚܦܨ) 1 Cor 1:26 ܝܒܨܐ ܚܡܨ

ܠܐܟܕܗܐ ܦܠܚ ܚܡܨ/εὐσεβέω/carry out one's religious duties towards one's family (Syrᵖ
ܐܪܘܘܩ) 1 Tim 5:4
εὐσεβέω/ܦܠܚ/worship Acts 17:23 (Syrᵖ id.)

• (FSL I, 188) εὐσέβεια/ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܕܣܟܐ/godliness, godly life 1 Tim 2:2 (Syrᵖ ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ); 3:16
(Syrᵖ ܕܢܐܠܗܐ); 4:7, 8 (Syrᵖ both ܕܢܐܠܗܐ); 6:3, 5, 6 (Syrᵖ all three ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ), 11 (Syrᵖ ܕܢܐܠܗܐ); 2 Tim 3:5
(Syrᵖ ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ); Titus 1:1 (Syrᵖ ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ) — εὐσεβῶς/ܕܣܟܐ ܚܡܨܢܐܘ 2 Tim 3:12; Titus 2:12
(Syrᵖ both ܐܟܕܗܐ ܕܢܣܟܕ)

ܣܡܥܢܐ ܚܡܨ/εὔχρηστος/useful, beneficial 2 Tim 2:21 (Syrᵖ ܚܫܡ, ܚܫܡܚܡܢܐ); 4:11 (Syrᵖ ܚܫܡ);
Philem 11 (Syrᵖ ܝܚ ܣܡܨ)

ܟܚܨܢܥܢܐ ܚܡܨ/ἀνθρωπάρεσκος/one who acts merely to please men (Syrᵖ ܘܡܨ ܥܗ
ܟܚܨܢܥܢܐ) Eph 6:6; Col 3:22

ܡܨܚܕܠܐ ܚܡܨ/εὐπρόσδεκτος/acceptable (Syrᵖ ܡܨܚܕܠܐ) Rom 15:16, 31 (Syrᵖ ܚܡܨ ܠܐܡܨܚܠܐ);
2 Cor 6:2; 1 Pet 2:5
εὐπρόσδεκτος/ܚܡܨ ܡܚܕܡܨܕܠܐ (Syrᵖ ܡܚܕܡܨܕܠܐ) 2 Cor 8:12

ܡܚܠܨܡܨܥܢܐ ܚܡܨ/εὐπειθής/open to reason, willing to give in (to someone else) Jas 3:17
(Syrᵖ ܡܚܡܠܨܡܚܢܢܐ)

ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܠܗܘܐ/τὸ εὔσχημον/good order (Syrᵖ ܚܡܨܕܚܠܐ ܚܡܨܢܐܕ ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ) 1 Cor 7:35

• (FSL I, 188) εὐσχήμων/ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ ܚܡܨ/respected, of high standing Mk 15:43 (Syrᵖ ܡܚܡܨܢܕ); Acts
13:50 (Syrᵖ ܝܟܚܡܨܢܕ); 17:12 (Syrᵖ ܢܒܡܟܐ — ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ ܚܡܨܢܬ) — τὰ εὐσχήμονα/ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ 1 Cor 12:24 —
εὐσχημόνως/ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܚܡܨܢܥܢܐ Rom 13:13; 1 Cor 14:40; 1 Thess 4:12 — εὐσχημοσύνη/ܚܡܨܢܐܘ
ܐܡܨܕܚܠܐ 1 Cor 12:23

ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ/θεοσέβεια/religion, piety (Syrᵖ ܕܣܟܐ ܐܟܕܗܐ) 1 Tim 2:10; 3:16 (*v.l.* in ms
O; ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܕܣܟܕܐ in mss CJ)

ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܕܪܚܠܐ ܐܚܠܐ/εὐκαίρως/when the time is right; when convenient (Syrᵖ ܟܣܦܣܡܗܘܡܐ ܕܪܚܠܐ ܐܚܠܐ)
2 Tim 4:2

• (FSL I, 188) εὐκαίρως/ܚܬܒܢܐ ܘܚܫ Mk 14:11 — εὐκαιρία/ܐܚܠܐ ܘܚܫ Mt 26:16; Lk 22:6 —
εὐκαιρία/ܐܚܠܐ ܚܬܦ ܠܗܘܐ Lk 22:6 — εὔκαιρος/ܐܚܠܐ ܚܡܨ Mk 6:21; Heb 4:16 — εὐκαιρέω/ܡܚܨ Mk
6:31 (Syrᵖ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐܘ ܟܕܗ); Acts 17:21 (Syrᵖ ܟܕܗ ܚܝܡܠܐ) — εὐκαιρέω/ܐܡܚܐܕܚܨ 1 Cor 16:12 (Syrᵖ ܢܘܗ
ܐܠܐܘ ܟܕܗ)

ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܡܢ ܠܨܚܢܦܐܠܐ/εὐδοκία/good will Eph 1:5 (Syrᵖ ܚܡܨ ܚܬܪܚܢܐ), 9 (Syrᵖ no c.)
• (FSL I, 189) εὐδοκία/ܚܡܨܢܐܘ ܪܚܢܐ Phil 1:15 (Syrᵖ ܪܚܢܐ ܠܗܐ); 2:13 (Syrᵖ ܪܟܐ) 2 Thess 1:11 (ܪܚܢܐ)
— εὐδοκία/ܪܚܢܠܐ Rom 10:1

ܡܛܐܒܘܬܐ ܡܛܐܒܘ/εὐεργεσία/service; act of kindness (Syrᴾ ܠܐܡܛܐܒܘ) 1 Tim 6:2; Acts 4:9 (Syrᴾ ܡܛܐܒܘ)

εὐεργετέω/ܐܛܐܒ; Acts 10:38 (Syrᴾ no c.) — εὐεργέτης/ܡܛܐܒܢܐ (Syrᴾ ܥܒܕ ܛܒܬܐ) Lk 22:25

ܡܣܬܦܩܢܘ ܡܛܐܒܘ/αὐτάρκεια/what is necessary; self-sufficiency 2 Cor 9:8 (Syrᴾ ܡܕܡ ܣܦܩ); 1 Tim 6:6 (Syrᴾ ܡܣܝܟܐ ܘܣܦܩ ܠܗ)

αὐτάρκης/ܣܦܩ ܠܗ Phil 4:11 (Syrᴾ id.)

• ܡܛܐܒܘܬܐ ܨܒܝܢܐ (FSL I, 189)/εὐδοκία/good will Phil 1:15 (Syrᴾ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܛܒܐ); 2:13 (Syrᴾ ܨܒܝ); 2 Thess 1:11 (Syrᴾ ܨܒܝܢܐ)

εὐδοκία/ܨܒܝܢܐ Rom 10:1 — εὐδοκία/ܡܛܐܒܘ ܗܘ ܒܨܒܝܢܗ Eph 1:5, 9

ܡܛܐܒܘܬܐ ܐܘܝܘܬܐ/εὐνοία/good will; eagerness (Syrᴾ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܚܒܘܒܐܝܬ) Eph 6:7

ܐܚܝܕܝ ܩܪܒܐ/λογομαχία/fight or quarrel about words (Syrᴾ ܘܕܪܫܐ) 1 Tim 6:4

λογομαχέω/ܐܚܝܕ ܩܪܒܐ (Syrᴾ ܐܬܚܪܐ ܕܪܫܐ) 2 Tim 2:14

ܝܪܚܐ ܬܠܬܐ/τρίμηνον/(a period of) three months (Syrᴾ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܪܚܝܢ) Heb 11:23

ܝܘܡܐ ܬܡܝܢܝܐ/ὀκταήμερος/on the eighth day (Syrᴾ ܒܪ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ) Phil 3:5

ܬܪܝܢܝ ܡܠܠܐ/δίλογος/twofaced, insincere (Syrᴾ ܬܪܝܢ ܒܡܠܝܗܘܢ) 1 Tim 3:8

ܬܪܝܢܝ ܦܘܡܐ/δίστομος/double-edged (Syrᴾ ܦܬܚ ܦܘܡܐ) Heb 4:12

2.5 "Compounds" with ܠܐ

ܠܐ ܢܟܦܐ/ἀνεπαίσχυντος/with no need to be ashamed (Syrᴾ ܘܠܐ ܒܗܬ) 2 Tim 2:15

ܠܐܝ ܓܢܣܐ/ἀγενής/inferior (Syrᴾ ܕܠܝܛܝܢ ܒܛܘܗܡܗܘܢ) 1 Cor 1:28

ܠܐ ܟܕܒ/ἀψευδής/who never lies, trustworthy (Syrᴾ ܡܛܐܒܘ) Titus 1:2

ܠܐ ܕܟܐ/ἀκάθαρτος/unclean, defiling (Syrᴾ ܛܢܦܐ) Acts 10:28; 1 Cor 7:14

ἀκάθαρτος/ܛܢܦܐ Gospels (Syrᴾ id.) Acts 10:14 (Syrᴾ id.); 11:8 (Syrᴾ id.); Eph 5:5 (Syrᴾ ܛܡܐ) —
ἀκάθαρτος/ܛܡܐ Acts 5:16; 8:7 (both Syrᴾ id.)

ܠܐܝ ܗܘܢܐ/ἀνόητος/foolish, ignorant (Syrᴾ ܚܣܝܪܝ ܪܥܝܢܐ) Lk 24:25; Gal 3:1; 1 Tim 6:9 (Syrᴾ ܣܟܠܐ)
ἀνόητος/ܣܟܠܐ Rom 1:14; Gal 3:3 — ἀνόητος/ܚܣܝܪ ܗܘܢܐ Titus 3:3

ܠܐ ܚܘܣܢܐ/ἀφειδία/severe discipline (Syrᴾ ܘܠܐ ܚܝܣ) Col 2:23

ܠܐ ܚܣܝܐ/ἀνόσιος/irreligious, impious (Syrᴾ ܟܠܢܐ) 1 Tim 1:9
ἀνόσιος/ܚܣܝܐ 2 Tim 3:2

ܠܐ ܡܣܬܦܩ/ἀπόχρησις/process of being used (Syrᴾ ܘܡܣܬܒܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܒܠܝܢ) Col 2:22

ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܢܐܝܬ/ἀδήλως/without a goal in mind (Syrᴾ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ) 1 Cor 9:26
ἄδηλος/ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ Lk 11:44; 1 Cor 14:8 — ἀδηλότης/ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܢܘ/uncertainty (Syrᴾ ܘܠܐ ܒܫܟܝܚܘܬܗ ܡܬܟܬܫ) 1 Tim 6:17

ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ/ἀγνωσία/lack of spiritual perception 1 Cor 15:34 (Syrᴾ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ ܟܠܢܫ ܕܠܐ); 1 Pet 2:15 (Syrᴾ ܗܘܢܐ, ܘܠܐ ܡܒܝܢ)

ܠܐ/ἀγνόημα (Syrᵖ ܚܛܗܐ) Heb 9:7 – ܠܐ ܝܺܕܥܬܐ/ἄγνοια Eph 4:18 (Syrᵖ ܣܟܠܐ ܝܕܥܬܐ); Acts
3:17 (Syrᵖ ܒܛܥܝܘ); 17:30 (Syrᵖ ܠܝܕܥܬܐ); 1 Pet 1:14 (Syrᵖ ܚܣܝܪܘܬ ܝܕܥܬܐ)

ܕܠܐ ܚܫܐ/ἀπηλγηκώς/having lost all feeling, insensitive (Syrᵖ ܦܣܩ ܣܒܪܗ = NA²⁷ *v.l.*
ἀπηλπικώς) Eph 4:19

ܕܠܐ ܝܘܬܪܢܐ/τὸ ἀνωφελές/uselessness (Syrᵖ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܝܘܬܪܢ ܗܘ) Heb 7:18
ἀνωφελής/ܠܐ ܝܘܬܪܢܐ Titus 3:9 (Syrᵖ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܝܘܬܪܢ ܗܘ)

ܠܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܐ/ἀμετακίνητος/immovable 1 Cor 15:58 (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܬܙܝܥܝܢ); Acts 27:41 (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܐ)

ܠܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܐ/μὴ μετακινούμενος Col 1:23 — ܠܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܐ/ἀσάλευτος/immovable Heb 12:28

ܠܐ ܡܙܘܓܐ/ἄγαμος/unmarried 1 Cor 7:8 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܐ), 11 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ), 32 (Syrᵖ ܘܐܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢܬܬܐ), 34 (Syrᵖ ܘܐܝܕܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܐ)

ܠܐ ܡܛܘܫܐ/ἀμίαντος/pure, undefiled Heb 7:26 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܛܘܫ); 13:4 (Syrᵖ ܘܕܟܐ); Jas 1:27 (Syrᵖ ܘܕܟܝܬܐ)
ἀμίαντος/ܠܐ ܡܬܛܘܫܬܐ 1 Pet 1:4 (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܬܛܘܫܬܐ)

ܠܐ ܡܛܟܣܐ/ἄτακτος/lazy, idle (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܡܛܟܣܐ) 1 Thess 5:14

ܠܐ ܡܛܟܣܐܝܬ/ἀτάκτως (Syrᵖ ܣܟܠܐܝܬ) 2 Thess 3:6, 11 — ἀτακτέω/ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܛܟܣ (Syrᵖ ܗܟܢ ܣܟܠܐܝܬ) 2 Thess 3:7 — ܠܐ ܡܛܟܣܘܬܐ/ἀκαταστασία/disorder; insurrection (Syrᵖ ܫܓܘܫܝܐ) 1 Cor 14:33; 2 Cor 6:5; 12:20

ܘܠܐ ܡܘܡܐ/ἄσπιλος/pure, spotless (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܘܡ) 1 Tim 6:14; Jas 1:27
ἄσπιλος/ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡ 1 Pet 1:19 (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡ ܘܠܐ ܛܘܠܫܐ)

ܕܠܐ ܐܒܗܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ/ἀγενεαλόγητος/without (record of) lineage (Syrᵖ ܕܠܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܬܟܬܒ) Heb 7:3
ܕܠܐ ܐܒܗܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ/μὴ γενεαλογούμενος (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܬܟܬܒ) Heb 7:6

ܘܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܢܐ/ἀσύνετος/without understanding Rom 1:21 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠ) — ἀσύνετος/ܠܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ Rom 10:19 (Syrᵖ ܥܡܐ ܠܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ) — ἀσύνετος/ܘܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ Rom 1:31 (Syrᵖ ܘܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܬܐ) — ἀσύνετος/ܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܢܐ Mt 15:16 (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ); Mk 7:18 (Syrᵖ ܗܟܢܐ)

ܠܐ ܡܨܛܠܝܢܐ/ἀκλινής/without wavering, firmly (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܢܨܛܠܐ) Heb 10:23

ܠܐ ܡܪܚܡܢܐ/ἀνήμερος/fierce, vicious (Syrᵖ ܘܚܣܝܡܐ) 2 Tim 3:3

ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܐ/ἀκατάλυτος/indestructible, without end (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ) Heb 7:16

ܠܐ ܡܬܥܩܒܢܐ/ἀνεξεραύνητος/impossible of explanation by human minds (Syrᵖ ܘܕܠܐ ܡܬܥܩܒܝܢ) Rom 11:33

ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܐ/ἄφθαρτος/perishable, immortal (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ) Rom 1:23; 1 Cor 9:25; 15:52 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ) 1 Tim 1:17; 1 Pet 1:4, 23 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ)
τὸ ἄφθαρτον/ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܐ 1 Pet 3:4 — ἀφθαρσία/ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܐ Rom 2:2; 1 Cor 15:42, 50, 53, 54; Eph 6:24; 2 Tim 1:10

ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ/ἀόρατος/invisible (Syrᵖ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ) Col 1:15; 1 Tim 1:17; Heb 11:27

ܠ/τὰ ἀόρατα/invisible, unseen things Rom 1:20 (Syrᵖ); Col 1:16 (Syrᵖ) ܠܐ
(ܡܬܚܙ̈) ܕܠܐ/ἀφανής (Syrᵖ) Heb 4:13

ܠܐ/ἀπειθής/disobedient Lk 1:17 (Syrᵖ); Titus 1:16 (Syrᵖ);
3:3 (Syrᵖ); Acts 26:19 (Syrᵖ)

ܠܐ/ἀλάλητος/that cannot be expressed in words (Syrᵖ) Rom 8:26

ܠܐ/ἀναρίθμητος/innumerable (Syrᵖ) Heb 11:12

ܠܐ/ἀδύνατος/impossible; weak; crippled (Syrᵖ) Mt 19:26; Mk 10:27; Lk
18:27; Heb 6:4, 18; 10:4; 11:6
ἀδύνατος/ Acts 14:8 (Syrᵖ) — ἀδύνατος/ ܠܐ Rom 15:1 (Syrᵖ) — τὸ
ἀδύνατον/ ܠܐ/what the law could not do (Syrᵖ) Rom 8:3

ܠܐ/ἀκατάγνωστος/above criticism (Syrᵖ) Titus 2:8

ܠܐ/ἀνεξιχνίαστος/untraceable (Syrᵖ) Rom 11:33; Eph 3:8

ܠܐ/ἐν ἀτόμῳ/in a moment (Syrᵖ) 1 Cor 15:52

ܠܐ/ἀπρόσιτος/unapproachable (Syrᵖ) 1 Tim 6:16

ܠܐ/ἀνέγκλητος/without fault (Syrᵖ) 1 Cor 1:8
ἀνέγκλητος/ (Syrᵖ) Col 1:22; 1 Tim 3:10; Titus 1:6, 7

ܠܐ/ἀμετανόητος/unrepent, obstinate (Syrᵖ) Rom 2:5
ܠܐ/ἀμεταμέλητος/free from regret (Syrᵖ) Rom 11:29 — /κατάνυξις/
numbness (Syrᵖ) Rom 11:8

ܠܐ/ἀπρόσκοπος/blameless, faultless (Syrᵖ) Phil 1:10
ἀπρόσκοπος/ 1 Cor 10:32 (Syrᵖ); Acts 24:16 (Syrᵖ)

ܠܐ/ἀπερισπάστως/without distraction (Syrᵖ) 1 Cor 7:35

• ܠܐ (FSL I, 178)/ἀνόμως/without the (Jewish) law (Syrᵖ) Rom 2:12
ἄνομος/ 1 Cor 9:21 (three times) (Syrᵖ) — ἄνομος/
2 Thess 2:8; 1 Tim 1:9 — ܠܐ/ἀνομία/lawlessness, sin (Syrᵖ) Rom 4:7; 6:19 (twice);
2 Cor 6:14; 2 Thess 2:7; Titus 2:14; Heb 1:9; 10:17; 1 Jn 3:4 (twice)
/νομίμως (Syrᵖ) 1 Tim 1:8; 2 Tim 2:5

ܠܐ/ἀπαράβατος/permanent, untransferable (Syrᵖ) Heb 7:24

ܠܐ/ἀσύνθετος/faithless, disloyal (Syrᵖ) Rom 1:31

ܠܐ/ἀφιλάγαθος/enemy to goodness (Syrᵖ) 2 Tim 3:3

2.6 "Compounds" with ܡܢ

ܐ/προέρχομαι/go ahead; go before; pass along (Syrᵖ) 2 Cor 9:5; Acts 20:5
προέρχομαι/ Lk 1:17; 22:47 — προέρχομαι/ Mt 26:39; Mk 14:35 — προέρχομαι/
Mk 6:33 — προέρχομαι/ Acts 12:10

ܡܢ/προαμαρτάνω/sin previously or in the past (Syrᵖ) 2 Cor 12:21; 13:2

ܩܕܡ ܚܫ/προπάσχω/suffer previously (Syrᵖ ܚܫ ܕܩܕܡܬܐ) 1 Thess 2:2

ܩܕܡ ܛܝܒ ܘܗܘ/προετοιμάζω/prepare beforehand (Syrᵖ ܛܝܒ) Rom 9:23; Eph 2:10 (Syrᵖ ܛܝܒ)

ܩܕܡ ܝܕܥ ܘܗܝ ܕܡ/προγινώσκω/know already, know from the beginning Rom 8:29 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ); 1 Pet 1:20 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥ); Acts 26:5 (Syrᵖ ܝܕܥ ܩܕܡ); 11:2 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܝܕܥ ; ܝܕܥ)

ܩܕܡ ܢܣܒ/προλαμβάνω/do (something) ahead of time (Syrᵖ no c.) 1 Cor 11:21 ܩܕܡ/προλαμβάνω Mk 14:8 — προλαμβάνω/ܩܕܡ Gal 6:1

ܩܕܡ ܪܫܐ/προαιτιάομαι/accuse beforehand (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܚܝܒ) Rom 3:9

ܩܕܡ ܬܩܢ/προκαταρτίζω/prepare in advance (Syrᵖ ܬܩܢ) 2 Cor 9:5

ܩܕܡ ܪܫܡ/προγράφω/write above *or* already; put on public display (Syrᵖ ܪܫܡ) Gal 3:1 (Syrᵖ ܨܪ) Eph 3:3; Rom 15:4 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܟܬܒ ܗܘܐ)—προγράφω/ܩܕܡ ܟܬܒ

ܩܕܡ ܠܘܐ/προπέμπω/escort, accompany Acts 15:3 (Syrᵖ ܠܘܐ ܩܕܡ); Titus 3:13 (Syrᵖ ܠܘܐ) προπέμπω/ܠܘܐ Acts 20:38; 21:5; Rom 15:24; 1 Cor 16:6, 11; 2 Cor 1:16

ܩܕܡ ܫܪܝ/προενάρχομαι/begin beforehand (Syrᵖ ܫܪܝ) 2 Cor 8:6, 10

ܩܕܡ ܫܪܪ/προκυρόω/make previously (of a covenant) (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܫܪܝܪ) Gal 3:17

ܩܕܡ ܦܪܫ/προορίζω/decide from the beginning *or* beforehand Rom 8:29 (Syrᵖ ܦܪܫ), 30 (Syrᵖ ܦܪܫ); 1 Cor 2:7 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܦܪܫ); Eph 1:5 (Syrᵖ ܪܫܡ), 11 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܪܫܡ); Acts 4:28 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡ ܪܫܡ)

2.7 "Compounds" with ܐܟܚܕܐ

ܐܟܚܕܐ/συζωοποιέω/make alive together with (Syrᵖ ܐܚܝ ܥܡ) Col 2:13 συζωοποιέω/ܐܚܝ ܥܡ Eph 2:5

ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܟܠ/συνεσθίω/eat with (Syrᵖ ܐܟܠ ܥܡ) Gal 2:12 συνεσθίω/ܐܟܠ ܥܡ Lk 15:2; Acts 10:41; 1 Cor 5:11

ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܬܐ/συνέρχομαι/come together, assemble (Syrᵖ ܐܬܟܢܫ) 1 Cor 7:5 [NA²⁷ *v.l.*] ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܬܐ συνέρχομαι/ Acts 21:16; 28:17 — συνέρχομαι/ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ (Syrᵖ ܐܬܟܢܫ) 1 Cor 14:23 — συνέρχομαι/ܐܬܟܢܫ (Syrᵖ id.) Mk 3:20; 14:53; Lk 5:15; Jn 18:20; Acts 1:6, 21; 5:16; 19:32; 22:30; 1 Cor 11:17 (Syrᵖ ܟܢܫ); 18, 20, 33, 34; 14:26 — συνέρχομαι/ܟܢܫ Acts 2:6; 10:27; 16:13 — συνέρχομαι/ܐܬܐ Lk 23:55; Jn 11:33; Acts 9:39; 10:23, 45; 11:12 — συνέρχομαι/ܐܬܐ Acts 25:17

ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܬܬܢܚ/συστενάζω/groan together (Syrᵖ ܐܬܬܢܚ) Rom 8:22

ܐܟܚܕܐ ܡܚܒܠ/συνωδίνω/suffer great pain together (Syrᵖ ܡܚܒܠ) Rom 8:22

ܐܟܚܕܐ ܣܗܕ/συμμαρτυρέω/give evidence in support of Rom 2:15 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܗܕ); 9:1 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܗܕ) συμμαρτυρέω/ܣܗܕ ܥܡ Rom 8:16 (Syrᵖ ܐܣܗܕ)

2.8 Adjectives, Adverbs

Adjectives and Adverbs which are "compounds" are quoted in section 2.4.

ܐܲܒܳܗܳܝܳܐ/πατρικός/coming from one's (fore)fathers Gal 1:14 (Syrᵖ ܕܐܒܳܗܰܝ̈); Phil 2:1 (Syrᵖ no c.)

ܐ̱ܢܳܫܳܝܳܐ/ἀνθρώπινον/human (Syrᵖ ܐܡܪ ܘܟܡܐ ܚܢܢ ܐ̱ܢܳܫܳܐ) Rom 6:19

   ܐ̱ܢܳܫܳܝܳܐ/ἀνθρώπινος/human, characteristic of mankind 1 Cor 2:4 (Syrᵖ no c.); 4:3 (Syrᵖ ܟܕ ܐ̱ܢܳܫܳܐ); 10:13 (Syrᵖ ܕܚܠܝܢܐ); Jas 3:7 (Syrᵖ ܘܠܐܢܫܐ); 1 Pet 2:13 (Syrᵖ ܚܢܬ ܐܢܫܐ) — ἀνθρώπινος/ܚܛܝܬܢܐ (ܐܡܪܬ) Acts 17:25 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܦܓܪܳܢܳܐ/σαρκινός/-κικός/belonging to this world, material Rom 7:14 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ); 1 Cor 3:1 (Syrᵖ ܦܓܪܢܐ), 3 (twice; Syrᵖ ܕܦܓܪ/ܦܓܪܢܐ); 9:11 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ); 2 Cor 1:12 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ); 3:3 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ); 10:4 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ); 1 Pet 2:11 (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪܢܐ)

   ܦܓܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ/τὰ σαρκικά/material things (Syrᵖ ܘܦܓܪ) Rom 15:27 — ܦܓܪܢܝܬܐ/ σαρκινός/-κικός Heb 7:16 (Syrᵖ ܦܓܪܢܝܐ)

ܟܘܝܢܳܐ/κοινός/common; profane; unclean (Syrᵖ ܘܟܘܝ) Titus 1:4; Acts 2:4; 4:32

   κοινός/ܡܣܝܒܐ (Syrᵖ ܐܡܪ ܘܡܟܝܢ) Heb 10:29 — κοινός/ܡܣܝܒܐ Mk 7:2, 5 (Syrᵖ both ܠܐ ܡܫܓܝ); Rom 14:14¹ (Syrᵖ id.), 14²⁺³ (Syrᵖ ܡܣܝܒ); Acts 10:14, 28; 11:8 (Syrᵖ all three id.)

ܕܐܝܟܡܐ/πού/somewhere; almost (Syrᵖ no c.) Rom 4:19; Heb 2:6; 4:4

   πώς/ܕܐܝܟܡܐ 2 Cor 12:20 — πού/ܐܝܟܢܬܐ Acts 27:29 (Syrᵖ id.)

- ܘܟܢܫܐ (FSL I, 189)/ἴδιος/one's own, personal Titus 1:12 (Syrᵖ no c.)

   ἰδίᾳ/ܘܟܢܫܠܐ/individually 1 Cor 12:11 — in all other cases ἴδιος/ܕܝܠ + personal suffix, with Syrᵖ ܕܝܠܢ, ܘܢܦܫ, or simply a personal suffix.

ܕܪ̈ܡܣܩܝܐ/Δαμασκηνοί/inhabitants of Damascus (Syrᵖ ܕܪܡܣܘܩܝܐ) 2 Cor 11:32

ܢܘܓܪܳܐ/νόθος/illegitimate (as of children) (Syrᵖ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ) Heb 12:8

- ܗܳܢܳܐܝ̣ܬ (FSL I, 175)/ἡδέως/gladly 2 Cor 11:19 (Syrᵖ ܐܢܣ); 12:9, 15 (Syrᵖ both ܡܒܝܐܝܬ)

ܡܢܝܚܳܢܳܐܝ̣ܬ/φειδομένως/sparingly (Syrᵖ ܚܣܘܣܝܐ) 2 Cor 9:6

   φείδομαι constantly ܚܣ (Syrᵖ id.)

ܙܕܝܩܳܐܝ̣ܬ/ὁσίως/in a manner pleasing to God (Syrᵖ ܘܕܟܝܐܝܬ) 1 Thess 2:10

   ὅσιος constantly ܚܣܝܐ (Syrᵖ id.)

ܫܪܝܪܳܐ/γνήσιος/genuine; true, loyal (Syrᵖ ܗܢܝܐ) Phil 4:3; 1 Tim 1:2; Titus 1:4

ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ/τὸ γνήσιον/genuineness 2 Cor 8:8 (Syrᵖ ܕܗܢܝܘܬܐ)ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ — /ἀκριβῶς/accurately Eph 5:15 (Syrᵖ ܙܗܝܪܐܝܬ); 1 Thess 5:2 (Syrᵖ ܗܢܝܐܝܬ) — ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ/γνησίως Phil 2:20 (Syrᵖ ܐܟܡܦܐܝܬ)

- ܫܦܝܪܳܐ (FSL I, 189)/καλῶς/well, rightly (Syrᵖ ܫܦܝܪ) Acts 10:33; 1 Cor 7:37, 38; 14:17; Gal 4:17; 5:7; Phil 4:14; 1 Tim 3:4, 13; Heb 13:18

   καλῶς/ܫܦܝܪ Mt 12:12; 15:7; Acts 25:10; 28:25; Rom 11:20; 2 Cor 11:4; 1 Tim 3:12; 5:17 — καλῶς/ܫܦܝܪܐܝܬ Jas 2:3, 8, 19 (v.l. ܫܦܝܪ)

- • ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܢܵܐ/μακάριος (FSL I, 189)/blessed, fortunate (*Gospels:* ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ, only Jn 13:17 ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ);
  1 Tim 1:11; 6:15 (Syrᵖ both ܡܒ݂ܲܪܟ݂ܵܐ); Titus 2:13 (Syrᵖ ܚܲܢܝܵܐ); Jas 1:12 (Syrᵖ ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ), 25 (Syrᵖ
  ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ); 1 Pet 3:14; 4:14 (Syrᵖ both ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ)
  μακαρισμός/ܛܘܼܒ݂ܵܐ Rom 4:6, 9; Gal 4:15

ܛܲܠܝܵܢܵܐ/νεωτερικός/youthful, associated with youth (Syrᵖ ܕܛܲܠܝܘܼܬ݂ܵܐ) 2 Tim 2:22

ܝܲܡܝܼܢܵܐ/δεξιός/right (Syrᵖ ܕܝܲܡܝܼܢܵܐ) 2 Cor 6:7
  In all other cases δεξιός/ܝܲܡܝܼܢܵܐ (ܕ) (Syrᵖ id.)

- • ܟܹܐܦܵܐ (FSL I, 189)/λίθινος/made of stone (Syrᵖ ܕܟܹܐܦܵܐ) 2 Cor 3:3

ܟܘܼܡܪܵܐ/ἱερός/sacred, holy; pertaining to the temple (of service and sacrifice) (Syrᵖ ܟܵܗܢܵܝܵܐ)
  2 Tim 3:15
  ܟܘܼܡܪܘܼܬ݂ܵܐ/τὰ ἱερά/sacred, holy things (Syrᵖ ܒܹܝܬ݂ ܩܘܼܕܫܵܐ) 1 Cor 9:13

ܟܘܼܠܵܢܵܐ/ὅλος/whole, complete, entire (Syrᵖ ܟܠܗܘܿܢ) Titus 1:11
  In all other cases ὅλος/ܟܠ (Syrᵖ id.)

ܟ݂ܝܵܢܵܐ/φυσικός/natural (Syrᵖ ܕܟ݂ܝܵܢܵܐ) Rom 1:26, 27

ܟ݂ܠ ܟܘܼܠܗ/ὅλως/wholly, entirely (Syrᵖ ܣܵܟ݂ܵܐ) 1 Cor 5:1; 6:7; 15:29
  ὅλως/ܣܵܟ݂ Mt 5:34

ܟ݂ܢܝܼܟ݂ܵܐ/κόσμιος/well behaved; befitting (Syrᵖ ܢܲܟ݂ܦܵܐ) 1 Tim 2:9; 3:2 (Syrᵖ ܡܢܲܟ݂ܦܵܐ)
  ܟ݂ܢܝܼܟ݂ܵܐ/σεμνός/serious; respectable (Syrᵖ ܘܲܩܝܼܪܵܐ); 1 Tim 3:8, 11; Titus 2:2 — ܟ݂ܢܝܼܟ݂ܘܼܬ݂ܵܐ/ σεμνότης
  Titus 2:7

ܠܵܐ ܗܵܘܹܐ/μὴ γένοιτο/no indeed (Syrᵖ ܚܵܣ) Lk 20:16; Rom 3:4, 6, 31; 6:2, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14;
  11:1, 11; 1 Cor 6:15; Gal 2:17; 3:21; 6:14

ܡܹܐܬ݂ܝܼܪ݂ܬ݂ܵܐ/καθ' ὑπερβολήν/beyond measure 2 Cor 1:8 (Syrᵖ ܕܝܲܬ݁ܝܼܪ); 4:17 (Syrᵖ
  ܠܘܼܬ݂); Gal 1:13 (Syrᵖ ܠܲܐܝܬ݁ܝܼܪ)
  καθ' ὑπερβολὴν/ܡܹܐܬ݂ܝܼܪܵܐܝܼܬ݂ Rom 7:13 (Syrᵖ ܝܲܬ݁ܝܼܪ — καθ' ὑπερβολήν/
  ܡܹܐܬ݂ܝܼܪ݂ܬ݂ܵܐ 1 Cor 12:31 (Syrᵖ ܡܝܲܬ݁ܪܵܐ)

ܡܵܐܢܵܐ/ὀκνηρός/troublesome, irksome Rom 12:11 (Syrᵖ ܡܲܚܣܢܵܐ); Phil 3:1 (Syrᵖ ܡܵܐܢܵܐ)
  ὀκνηρός/ܡܲܚܣܢܵܐ Mt 25:26

ܡܵܪܵܢܵܝܵܐ/κυριακός/belonging to the Lord (Syrᵖ ܕܡܵܪܲܢ) 1 Cor 11:20

ܡܚܲܣܝܵܢܵܐ/ἵλεως/merciful (Syrᵖ ܡܚܲܣܹܐ) Heb 8:12

ܡܥܲܬ݁ܕ݂ܵܐܝܼܬ݂/ἑτοίμως/readily (Syrᵖ ܥܬ݂ܝܼܕ݂) Acts 21:14; 2 Cor 12:14
  ἑτοίμως/ܥܬ݂ܝܼܕ݂ܵܐܝܼܬ݂ 1 Pet 4:4

ܡܓܲܡܪ݂ܵܢܵܐ/καταναλίσκος/consuming, devouring (Syrᵖ ܐܵܟ݂ܠܵܐ) Heb 12:29

ܡܵܝܘܿܬ݂ܵܐ/θνητός/mortal (Syrᵖ ܡܝܼܬ݂ܵܐ) Rom 6:12; 8:11
  ܡܵܝܘܿܬ݂ܵܐ/τὸ θνητόν (Syrᵖ ܡܵܝܘܿܬ݂) 1 Cor 15:53, 54; 2 Cor 5:4 (Syrᵖ ܡܝܼܬ݂ܘܼܬ݂ܵܐ) — θνητός/ܡܵܝܘܿܬ݂ܵܐ (Syrᵖ ܡܵܝܘܿܬ݂)
  2 Cor 4:11

ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܪܘܣ/πάντως/by all means, certainly 1 Cor 5:10 (Syrᵖ no c.); 9:10 (ܡܛܠ), 22 (Syrᵖ no c.)

πάντως/ܡܚܕ 1 Cor 16:12 (Syrᵖ id.) — πάντως/ܟܒܪ Lk 4:23; Acts 28:4 (Syrᵖ both ܡܚܕ)

ܡܢܘܟܪܝܐ/ἀπηλλοτριωμένος/being a stranger to (Syrᵖ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ) Eph 2:12; 4:18; Col 1:21

ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ/ἀπὸ μέρους/partially, partly Rom 11:25 (Syrᵖ ܡܢ ܐܠܐ ܡܟܝܠ) 15:15 (Syrᵖ ܡܟܝܠ); 24; 2 Cor 1:14 (Syrᵖ both ܡܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܩܝܡ); 2:5 (Syrᵖ ܡܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܪܝܐ)

ܡܢ ܥܠܬܐ/χάριν/(prep.) for the sake of, because of 1 Tim 5:14 (Syrᵖ no c.)

χάριν/ܡܛܠ Titus 1:11; 1 Jn 3:12 (Syrᵖ both id.) — τούτου χάριν/ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ (Syrᵖ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ) Eph 3:1, 14 (Syrᵖ no c.); Titus 1:5

ܡܦܝܣܢܝܐ/πειθός/persuasive; skillful (Syrᵖ ܕܡܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ) 1 Cor 2:4

ܡܦܫܩܢܐ/(δι)ἑρμηνευτής/interpreter (Syrᵖ ܘܡܦܫܩ) 1 Cor 14:28

ܡܦܬܟܐ/ποικίλος/various kinds of; diverse (Syrᵖ ܡܣܒܠܦܐ) Mt 4:24; Mk 1:34; Lk 4:40; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 3:3; Heb 2:4; 13:9; Jas 1:2; 1 Pet 1:6; 4:10 (Syrᵖ ܡܦܬܟܐ)

ܡܦܬܠ/διεστραμμένος/perverted, distorted (Syrᵖ ܡܥܩܡܐ) Phil 2:15

διεστραμμένος/ܡܥܩܡܐ (Syrᵖ ܡܥܩܡܠ) Mt 17:17; Lk 9:4; Acts 20:30 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܡܨܚܝܢܐ/λοίδορος/slanderer (Syrᵖ ܡܨܚܝܢܐ) 1 Cor 5:11

ܡܨܚܢܐ/αὐθάδης/arrogant, self-willed (Syrᵖ ܐܘ ܠܐ ܚܬܝܪ ܒܢܦܫܗ) Titus 1:7

ܡܨܪܦܐ/παρειμένος/drooping, weakened (Syrᵖ ܡܪܦܝܐ) Heb 12:12

παρίημι/ܡܚܒ Lk 11:42 (Syrᵖ id.)

ܡܫܘܬܦܐ/κοινωνικός/liberal, generous (Syrᵖ ܐܫܬܘܬܦ) 1 Tim 6:18

μέτοχος Heb 1:9 (Syrᵖ ܚܒܪ) — μέτοχος/ܡܫܘܬܦܐ Heb 3:14 (Syrᵖ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܢ)

ܡܫܝܢܢܐ/εἰρηνικός/peaceful; peace-loving (Syrᵖ ܘܡܫܝܢܐ) Heb 12:11

εἰρηνικός Jas 3:17 (Syrᵖ ܫܚܝܡܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ)

ܡܫܟܚܢܐ/ἐφευρετής/one who schemes *or* plans (Syrᵖ ܡܫܟܚܐ) Rom 1:30

• ܡܫܩܠܐ (FSL I, 178)/ὑπερήφανος/arrogant, proud (Syrᵖ ܪܡܐ) Rom 1:30 (Syrᵖ ܡܚܬܪܐ); 2 Tim 3:2; Jas 4:6; 1 Pet 5:5 (Syrᵖ ܪܡܐ)

ὑπερήφανος/ܪܡܐ Lk 1:51 — ὑπερηφανία/ܡܫܩܠܘܬܐ Mk 7:22

ܡܫܪܪܐ/στερεός/firm; solid (food) (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪܐ) 2 Tim 2:19; Heb 5:12, 14; 1 Pet 5:9

ܡܫܪܪܐ/ἑδραῖος 1 Cor 15:58 (Syrᵖ id.); Col 1:23 (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪܐ) — ܡܫܪܪܘܬܐ/στερέωμα/ firmness, steadfastness (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪܘܬܐ) Col 2:5 — στερεόω/ܫܪܪ Acts 3:7 (Syrᵖ ܫܪ), 16 (Syrᵖ ܫܪ); 16:5 (Syrᵖ ܐܫܬܪܪ) — ἑδραῖος/ܡܫܪܪܐ ܠܒܐ/firm, steadfast (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪ ܠܒܐ) 1 Cor 7:37 — ἑδραῖος/ܡܫܪܪ 1 Cor 15:58 (Syrᵖ id.); Col 1:23 (Syrᵖ ܡܫܪܪܐ)

ܡܫܬܘܚܪܐ/περιούσιος/special, belonging only to oneself (Syrᵖ ܚܕܬܐ) Titus 2:14

ܡܬܓܫܫܢܐ/ψηλαφωμένος/able to be touched (Syrᵖ ܡܬܓܫܫ) Heb 12:18

ܡܬܝܠܦܢܐ/διδακτός/taught; imparted (Syrᵖ ܕܝܠܝܦܘܬܐ) 1 Cor 2:13 (twice)

• ܡܫܟܚܪܝܢܐ (FSL I, 190)/δυνατός/possible; powerful; able (Syrᵖ ܡܫܟܚ) Rom 4:21; 11:23; 2 Cor 10:4; 2 Tim 1:12; Titus 1:9; Acts 20:16

  δυνατός/ܚܝܠܐ/ܚܝܠܐ Rom 12:18; Gal 4:15; Heb 11:19; Acts 2:24; Jas 3:2 — δυνατός/ܡܫܟܚܐ Rom 15:1; 1 Cor 1:26; 2 Cor 12:10; 13:9; Acts 7:22; 18:24; 20:16 — τὸ δυνατόν/ܡܫܟܚܢܘܬܐ Rom 9:22

ܡܫܬܘܕܥܢܐܝܬ/ὁμολογουμένως/undeniably (Syrᵖ ܓܠܝܐܝܬ) 1 Tim 3:16

ܢܟܦܐܝܬ/σωφρόνως/showing self-control (Syrᵖ ܕܢܟܦܘ) Titus 2:12

ܢܒܝܝܐ/προφητικός/prophetic (Syrᵖ ܢܒܝܐ) Rom 16:26

ܐܡܝܢܐ/πυκνός/often, frequently 1 Tim 5:23 (Syrᵖ ܐܡܝܢܐ)

ܣܒܬܐ/γραώδης/silly, foolish (Syrᵖ ܘܣܒܐ) 1 Tim 4:7

ܣܡܘܩܐ (ܝܡܐ)/(θάλασσα) ἐρυθρά/Red (Sea) Heb 11:29 (Syrᵖ ܝܡܐ ܘܣܡܘܩ)

ܣܡܠܝܐ/ἀριστερός/left (Syrp ܣܡܠܐ) 2 Cor 6:7

  In all other cases ἀριστερός/ܣܡܠܐ (Syrᵖ id.)

ܣܪܗܒܐ/προπετής/rash, reckless Acts 19:36 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܪܗܒܐ); 2 Tim 3:4 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܪܗܒܐ)

ܥܡܡܐܝܬ/ἐθνικῶς/like a Gentile (Syrᵖ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܡܐ) Gal 2:14

ܦܐܝܐ/ὡραῖος/beautiful; welcome; pleasant (Syrᵖ ܝܐܐ) Rom 10:15

  ὡραῖος/ܫܦܝܪ (Syrᵖ id.) Mt 23:27; Acts 3:2, 10

ܦܘܪܫܡܐ ,ܗܢܘܢ ܘ/τὰ ἀσχήμονα/private bodily parts (Syrᵖ ܐܢܝܢ ܘܦܘܪܫܡܐ) 1 Cor 12:23

ܦܨܝܚܐ/ἱλαρός/cheerful (Syrᵖ ܦܨܝܚܐ) 2 Cor 9:7

ܦܪܘܩܝܐ/σωτήριος/bringing salvation (Syrᵖ ܐܣܐ) Titus 2:11

ܨܒܝܢܐܝܬ/ἑκουσίως/willingly; deliberately (Syrᵖ ܒܨܒܝܢܐ) Heb 10:26; 1 Pet 5:2

  ἑκούσιος/ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܒܝܢܐ Philem 14

• ܩܕܡܐܝܬ (FSL I, 191)/πρῶτον/first (Syrᵖ ܠܘܩܕܡ or no c.) Rom 1:8, 16; 2:9, 10; 3:2; 15:24; 1 Cor 11:18; 12:28; 15:46; 2 Cor 8:5; 1 Thess 4:16; 2 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 1:5 (ms O); 3:10; Heb 7:2; Acts 3:26; 7:12; 11:26; 13:46; 15:15; 26:20; Jas 3:17; 1 Pet 4:17; 1 Jn 4:19 (Syrᵖ ܩܕܡܐܝܬ, v.l. ܩܕܡܝܐ)

  πρῶτον/ܠܘܩܕܡ 2 Tim 1:5 (mss JC)

ܩܪܛܝܐ/Κρήτης/Cretan (Syrᵖ ܓ̇ܒܪ ܩܪܛܝܐ) Titus 1:12

ܪܓܘܙܬܢܐ/ὀργίλος/quick-tempered (Syrᵖ ܚܡܬܢܐ) Titus 1:7

ܪܘܚܢܐܝܬ/πνευματικῶς/spiritually (Syrᵖ ܒܪܘܚ) 1 Cor 2:14

• ܫܟܝܪܐ (FSL I, 181)/αἰσχρός/shameful; dishonest (Syrᵖ ܡܚܣܕ ܗܘ) 1 Cor 11:6; 14:35 (Syrᵖ ܡܣܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ); Eph 5:12 (Syrᵖ ܢܒܬ ܗܘ); Titus 1:11 (Syrᵖ ܣܟܠܐ)

  ܫܟܝܪܐ/ἄτοπος/wrong, evil; harmful (Syrᵖ ܒܝܫܐ) 2 Thess 3:2

• ܬܠܝܬܝܐ (FSL I, 191)/τρίτος/third (adj.) 1 Cor 15:4 (Syrᵖ ܕܬܠܬܐ) 2 Cor 12:2 (Syrᵖ ܕܬܠܬܐ)

  τρίτος/ܕܬܠܬܐ 1 Cor 12:28; 2 Cor 12:14; 13:1

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CHAPTER 6
LEXICA AND GRAMMARS IN THE LATE SYRIAC TRADITION: THE THREE BISHOPS: AUDO, MANNA, AND DAVID

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> *Indeed, a single word, or one syllable only of a noun or a verb,*
> *gives no pleasure to the soul because it shows no meaning…*
> *but when we add nouns to verbs,*
> *and noun and verb have thus been joined together,*
> *then the soul is pleased.*
>
> Job of Edessa (760–835?)
> *Book of Treasures*

This paper describes the lexical and grammatical works of eastern scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. Three authors and their works are examined: Toma Audo and his *simtâ*, Awgen Manna and his Syriac-Arabic lexicon, and Clemens Joseph David and his lexicon.

1. INTRODUCTION

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced a number of lexicographers and grammarians from within the Syriac tradition. The best known amongst the lexicographers is Toma Audo (1853–1918), a bishop of the Chaldean Church, whose Syriac-Syriac *simtâ* is not unknown to many western scholars. Next to Audo comes Awgen Manna (1867–1928), also a bishop of the Chaldean Church, who composed a Syriac-Arabic lexicon. The grammarians are less well known in the west. Worth mentioning is Mor Clemens Joseph David (1829–1890),[1] Syrian Catholic bishop of Damascus, whose *al-lumʿa al-shahiyya fi naḥw al-lugha al-suryaniyya*, first published in 1879 with a second revised edition in 1896, is the largest grammar produced in the east after the time of Bar ʿEbroyo. David's grammar is hardly found in libraries in the west, but is available in the *eBethArké: The Syriac Digital Library*.[2] David's *Grammar* is not included in Moss's *Catalogue*,[3] but neither is Nöldeke's.

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[1] See Vosté, "Clément-Joseph David."

[2] Online: http://www.hmml.org/vivarium/BethArke.htm.

[3] Cyril Moss, ed., *Calalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum.*

During the same period, similar activities took place in the west. The *Thesaurus Syriacus* was published between 1868 and 1901, and Brockelmann issued the first edition of his *Lexicon Syriacum* in 1895 (2nd ed. 1928). As for grammars, Nöldeke wrote his *Compendious Syriac Grammar* in 1880 (English translation 1904, reprint Eisenbrauns, 2001).

In what follows, I aim to give an overall review of these lexical and grammatical works. I shall pay special attention to features that differ from those familiar in western works.

2. TOMA AUDO'S *SIMTÂ*

The *simtâ* was first published in two volumes at the Dominican Press in Mosul, Iraq, in 1897. It was later reprinted under two competing English titles: *Assyrian Dictionary*[4] by the Assyrian Language and Culture Classes Incorporated (Chicago, 1978) and The Assyrian Federation in Sweden (Stockholm, 1979), and *Treasure of the Syriac Language*[5] by St. Ephrem the Syrian Monastery. All three reprints retained the original Syriac title intact, ܣܝܡܬܐ ܕܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ, and produced the work in one volume.

Audo was aware of the lexical works of both eastern and western scholars, whom he explicitly mentions in the preface. The Easterners include Bar Bahlul, Hunayn ibn Ishaq, Jaqob Qtarblaya (d. 1783), Kheder of Mosul (1679–1751), and Gabriel Qardahi (1887, 1891); the Westerners include Giovanni Ferrari (1622), Michaelis (1788), and Payne Smith (1868).[6] Audo acknowledges using these sources, and many of the idioms found in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus* can be found in the *simtâ*. Audo's admiration of Payne Smith and his work is worth citing in full:

> ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܕܫܘܝ ܠܫܘܒܚܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܡܪܡܪܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐܝܘ ܒܗܢܐ ܥܡܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܗܘ ܥܝܦܐ ܘܩܫܝܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܐܪܟܝܕܝܩܘܢ ܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܢܓܠܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܦܢ ܣܡܝܬ ...

He who is worthy of much praise, and is elevated above all who endeavoured in this tiresome and difficult work [of compiling lexica] is Payne Smith, the chief *mallpanâ* and most excellent archdeacon of the Church of England which is called Great, who ordered, arranged, gathered, and piled up, with much labour, great exhaustion, patient work, mighty and vigorous perseverance, and a broad education the vocabulary of the Syriac language, all explained in Latin, while he showed his scholarship in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit, etc. And he also added to it [the lexicon] the words of the vernacular language, that is to say, the

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[4] *Assyrian Dictionary by Mar Touma Oddo.*

[5] *Treasure of the Syriac Language.*

[6] Taylor, *Annotated Bibliography of Printed Syriac Lexica.*

> Swadaya particular to the region of Urmia; and he did not neglect to list the usages of the Greek words which are scattered, here and there, in ancient writings. We can say that in notable skill this work is most perfect, complete and full [in comparison] with all those before it. Woe for the laborious and weary *mallpanâ* for he passed away from the temporal life before he completed his valuable work.

The *simtâ* is 1,128 pages long, with approximately 7,000 root-type entries and 28,000 total entries (root-type and lexeme-type entries).[7] In fact, one of the unique features of the *simtâ* is the large coverage of derived lexical forms, not to be found in any other lexicon. To illustrate, the following table lists the forms under the root ܣܡܝ given by Audo, Smith, and Brockelmann.

Entry	Audo	Payne Smith	Brockelmann
ܣܡܝ	✓	✓	✓
ܣܡܝܐ	✓	✓	✓
ܣܡܝܐ		✓	
ܣܡܝܐ ܣܡܝܬܐ*	✓	✓	
ܣܡܝܘܬܐ*	✓		
ܣܡܝܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܣܘܡܝܐ	✓	✓	✓
ܡܣܡܝܐ	✓	✓	
ܣܘܡܝܐ	✓		✓
ܐܬܣܡܝ			✓
ܡܣܝ	✓	✓	✓
ܡܣܡܝܢܐ*	✓		
ܡܣܡܝܢܘܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܣܡܝܢܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܡܣܡܝܐ ܡܣܡܝܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܣܡܝܘܬܐ*	✓		✓
ܡܣܡܝܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܣܘܡܝܐ	✓	✓	✓

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[7] Estimated based on a random sampling of 15 pages; totals rounded to the nearest 1,000.

Entry	Audo	Payne Smith	Brockelmann
ܡܫܘܚܬܐ	✓	✓	✓
ܡܫܘܚܬܢܐ	✓	✓	✓
ܐܡܬܫܚ	✓	✓	✓
ܡܬܡܫܚܢܐ ܡܬܡܫܚܢܐ*	✓		
ܡܬܡܫܚܢܘܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܬܡܫܚܢܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܐܡܫܚ	✓		
ܡܫܘܚܐ		✓	
ܡܫܚܢܐ ܡܫܚܢܝܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܫܚܢܘܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܫܚܢܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܡܫܘܚܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܫܘܚܘܬܐ*	✓		
ܡܫܘܚܐܝܬ*	✓		
ܐܬܡܬܫܚ	✓	✓	

Entries marked with an asterisk (*) are listed in the *simtâ* without further explanation, but their meaning can be easily inferred by the reader. The long list of derivations is indeed useful as it confirms the existence of such forms, at least in later usage of the language.

By virtue of having Syriac as both the source and target language, the *simtâ* can be used to some extent as a thesaurus for both synonyms (ܟܬܒ "to write:" ܪܫܡ, ܨܪ; ܚܠܒ "to be unfair:" ܥܠܒ), and antonyms (ܣܠܩ "to ascend:" ܢܚܬ "to descend"). Any future project that aims at incorporating such semantic data would benefit immensely from use of the *simtâ*.

The *simtâ* is also rich is citations, although the references to the citations are general and sometimes obscure. The absence of a list of abbreviations does not help. In the introduction, however, Audo explicitly lists the following sources for which I give here the abbreviation used in the body of the lexicon: the Scriptures (ܟܬܒ), Ephrem (ܐܦ), Narsai, Jacob of Serugh (ܣܪ), Jacob of Edessa, Isaac of Antioch/Nineveh, Elia of Anbar, Bar ʿEbroyo (ܚܢܒ), ʿAbdisho of Ṣoba (ܥܒܕ), Thomas of Edessa, and Bar Ṣalibi. In addition, one finds in the body of the lexicon references to *Acta Martyrum* (ܣܗ ܘܣܗ, ܣܗ ܘܣܗ), Yeshuʿdad (ܝܫܘܥ), John bar Fenkaye ܚ ܦܢ (= ܚ ܦܣܩܐ), the *ṭeksâ* (ܛܟ), *ṭeksâ dqûddāšâ* (ܛܟ ܕܩܘ) and the *ḥudrâ* (ܚܘܕ). Citations to abbreviations that I was unable to decipher include ܡ ܪ, ܡܗ, ܐ, ܚܟ ܘܚܙ

(ܐܝܟܐ(ܘܐܝܟܢܐ؟)), ܡܗܘܡ, ܡܚܒ, and ܚܡ. It also seems that the second volume has more diverse citations than the first volume. Just prior to publication, I was given a list of abbreviations prepared by Rabban Yuyoqim Unval of Saint Ephrem Seminary at Maʿarrat Saydnaya, who is in the process of compiling a new comprehensive Syriac lexicon. An edition of the list appears in the 2008 edition of the *simtâ* published by Gorgias Press.

Under each lemma, Audo marks transitiveness for verbs, and gender for nouns. He also gives plurals when the plural form is not common. His style is verbose: while he makes extensive use of the abbreviation ܗ.ܟ. for ܗܘ ܟܝ ܗܘ "that is," he also uses phrases like ܐܦ ܠܗ ܠܚܘܫܒܐ "also (belonging to) the sense of…" which is equivalent to the semicolon separator in modern lexica indicating a change in the sense.

The order of lexemes under each root is closer to the system employed by Brockelmann than R. Payne Smith. Audo begins with the simple *pʿal* forms and then includes the nominal that belong to *pʿal*. He then moves to *paʿʿel*, *afʿel*, etc. Verbal entries, thus, are intertwined with nominal ones.

3. AWGEN MANNA'S *LEXICON*

Awgen Manna (1867–1928) published his *Lexicon* in 1900 under the title ܡܥܕܪܢܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܠܚܡܐ / *Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe* / دليل الراغبين في لغة الآراميين. It was later reprinted under the title ܐܬܘܬ-ܠܚܡܐ، ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܘܫܒܐ / *Chaldean-Arabic Dictionary* / قاموس كلداني-عربي in 1975. Manna made use of 66 lexical and textual sources. The lexica include the ones known to him at the time (Bar Bahlul, Payne Smith, Qardahi, Audo, Michaelis, and Brun).

Manna's *Lexicon* consists of 803 pages, with approximately 24,000 entries.[8] As with the case of Audo's *simtâ*, Manna's dictionary includes a vast range of entries, some unique to his *Lexicon*. In the introduction, he lists a brief sample of the roots which he claims are not to be found in other lexica, the first four of which are (the sample list is nine items long):

1. ܚܡܐ ܐܦ ܐܦܚܡ ܘܐܚܡܦ ركاس: ܘܐܚܡ ܢܐܚܦܗ "tightens and binds with thread" (Isaac of Antioch).

2. ܗܘܐ (ܚܘܡܐ) "to raid, steal:" ܡܐ ܕܗܘܐ܆ ܗܘܡܗ ܠܚܠ ܠܨܡܠܐ ܗܘܡܐ: ܟܐܦܗ ܟܡܐ ܢܟܘܡܗ "[the falcon] becomes deceitful against his kind; he steals and brings birds" (Isaac of Antioch).

3. ܐܦܩ "to gasp:" ܦܢܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܘܒ ܡܢ ܡܘܡܙܐ ܘܓܙܡܗ ܐܦܩ ܗܘܐ: ܘܒܐܝܕܗ ܠܚܡܐ ܚܡܟܚܡܗ ܘܐܟܠܐ ܕܢ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ "It is clear that when he gasps from the weight of his belly, he desires to eat bread in the Kingdom of God" (John bar Fenkaye).

4. ܡܥܠ and ܐܡܥܠ "to imagine" (Arabic cognate تخيل), not to be confused with the more familiar homograph ܡܥܠ "to strengthen:" ܡܥܠ ܒܚܙܡܗ "he imagined in his mind" (Mushe bar Kepha).

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[8] Estimated based on a random sampling of 15 pages; totals rounded to the nearest 1,000.

Manna then gives a sample of what he perceives are mistakes by other lexicographers including Qardahi, Audo, and Payne Smith. These are mostly rare nouns.

The order of lemmata under each root differs from Audo. Manna first lists all the verbal forms, followed by the nominal ones. Within each category, he begins with the simple *pʿal* forms, moving to *paʿʿel*, *afʿel*, etc. The arrangement of meanings under each lemma follows western dictionaries. Manna uses the Arabic numerals to separate senses. While he gives a number of Arabic glosses per Syriac word, the lack of citations makes it difficult to get the right meaning of the word, especially in cases when the Arabic is not familiar from Modern Standard Arabic.

Yet, Manna's *Lexicon* can be very useful for any future lexicographical project. It is rich in entries, as well as idioms and usages within each entry. For instance, one finds under ܦܪܚ "to fly" the usage ܦܪܚ ܚܡܬܐ ܒܗܓܘܫܡܐ "the poison spread in the body." Other examples abound.

4. DAVID'S GRAMMAR

David's *al-lumʿa al-shahiyya fī naḥw al-lugha al-suryāniyya* first appeared in 1879 in one volume. A second revised edition was published posthumously in 1896 in two volumes, exactly nine years after David had already ܫܢܝ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ "passed away from the temporal life," to borrow the words of Audo. It is not clear if David had left a manuscript of revisions or not, or if he embarked on a revision before his death. A footnote in the introduction to the first volume (page 14) states "Know that whenever the beginning of a paragraph is preceded with this sign '(*)', it indicates that the comment is not from the writing of the author, but from the overseer of the printing of this book." No name is provided either on any of the title pages, or elsewhere. It is most likely that the second edition was prepared and expanded upon by Rahmani (1849–1929), a pupil of David, who also produced a Latin translation of *al-lumʿa* that same year.[9]

Being the most extensive grammar produced in the East after the works of Bar ʿEbroyo, all later grammars built on David's *al-lumʿa*, including Diryan,[10] al-Kfarnissy,[11] Armalah,[12] Dolabani,[13] and others.

David's *Grammar* illustrates his knowledge in various Semitic languages. Not a few footnotes throughout the work, especially in the second volume, provide comparisons with the Aramaic dialect of Maʿlulah. For instance, we are told that the Maʿlolites put the *taw* of the passive form after the first radical, for example, اِتܦاشم for Syriac اِتܦشم. Some notes cover Mandaic, and much of the discussion on verbs contains comparisons with Arabic and

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[9] David, *Grammatica Aramaica seu Syriaca*.

[10] Diryan, *kitāb al-ʾitqān*.

[11] al-Kfarnissy, *Grammar of the Aramaic Syriac language*.

[12] Armalah, *kitāb al-ʾuṣūl al-ʾibtidāʾiyyah*.

[13] Dolabani, *kitāb al-ʾasās*, vol. 1.

Hebrew. When comparison is needed with a western language, David uses Greek and Latin as examples.

The presentation of the grammatical material itself differs substantially from western grammars in style, arrangement, and methodology. In general, eastern grammarians are influenced by the Arabic grammatical tradition, and this goes back to Bar ʿEbroyo, who, for example, applies the notion of المبتدأ and الخبر to Syriac. David follows this tradition very closely. Western grammars, on the other hand, follow the philological approaches of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, while Nöldeke acknowledges that he makes use of the earlier "Jacobite" and "Nestorian" grammarians and lexicographers, he distances himself from the eastern approach which was brought to Europe by the Maronites. "I have taken my material from the best sources within reach," he tells us, "entirely disregarding Amira and the other Maronites." As a result, both western and eastern readers of grammars who are not familiar with the opposite tradition will need some time of adjustment to get used to the other approach. To illustrate this, consider the following two examples:

With regard to the masculine and plural forms of the noun, Nöldeke gives "formations" for different classes of nouns, for example, the most "usual formations" ܚܰܛܳܝܳܐ—ܚܰܛܳܝ̈ܶܐ "wicked" (§70), and the older *ayâ* ending in ܩܰܫܝܳܐ—ܩܰܫ̈ܝܳܬܐ "hard" (§72). In modern linguistics, one can describe this approach with a templatic formalism, for example, C*i*C*â*—C*i*C*ê* and CaCy*â*—CCay*â*, respectively (where C stands for a consonant). David's approach is radically different. He applies transformational processes in order to "derive" the plural from the singular. For instance, the plural of ܚܰܛܳܝܳܐ is achieved by turning *â* into *ê*, and the plural of ܩܰܫܝܳܐ by moving *a* from *qāph* to *shīn* (which amounts to metathesis of *a* and *i*). In order to implement David's approach with a modern formalism, one needs to apply a regular rule with a context that describes the templatic type of the noun. For example, the first transformation translates into

$â → ê$ / C*i*C ___ #

read *â* becomes *ê* when preceded by C*i*C and followed by the end marker (#).

Also note that Nöldeke's approach to the plural ܩܰܫ̈ܝܳܬܐ implies the plural morpheme *-ayâ*, while David's approach results in the morpheme *-yâ*. This transformational approach is ubiquitous in eastern grammars.

The second example is of concern to lexicographers and concordance compilers. Does one list nouns under their absolute state, or emphatic state? Which form is the original one? While we, in the west, are accustomed to consider the absolute, by virtue of the term itself, as the original and derive the emphatic by suffixation, eastern grammars invariably give copious rules whose purpose is to derive the absolute from the emphatic subtractively. (Subtractive morphology, where one form is derived from another by the removal of morphemes, is known to exist in a number of languages.) This approach is implicit in the Syriac term equivalent to "absolute," ܓܙܝܡܐ "apocopated." The process itself is called ܓܽܘܙܳܡܐ "aphaeresis" or "contraction." Surprisingly, David's view on this matter is similar to the western one; he explains at great length (§94),

> You should consider here that ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ "aphaeresis" is more archaic than non-ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ both in time and rank. But because of the ubiquitous usage of nouns with the [emphatic] Olaph, which western scholars believe was placed for definiteness, later [eastern] grammarians considered ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ a subtype of the noun which has the Olaph, and they began compiling rules to derive the ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ from the non-ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ, while the truth is the opposite, that is, the noun with *Olaph* ought to be derived from the ܚܒ݂ܽܡܐ

Yet, the next 25 pages of David's *Grammar* are filled up with rules that derive the absolute from the emphatic. Graduates of eastern schools, even today, follow this approach.

The modern grammarian can benefit from David's *Grammar* in a number of ways. First, it provides another way of looking at word formation which already has a following. Secondly, the discussion on orthography and the comparative data between east and west Syriac is unmatched in any other work. Thirdly, it provides long lists of data with regard to irregular forms, nominal types, and verbal types. It would be worthwhile consulting if one is to embark on writing a new extensive grammar.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper gives a brief overview of the lexical and grammatical works of three eastern bishops: Audo and his Syriac-Syriac *simtâ*, Manna and his Syriac-Arabic *Lexicon*, and David and his *Grammar*. The lexica provide unique entries and complement their western counterparts. Any future lexicon ought to make use of them.

The grammars, exemplified in this paper with David's *Grammar*, primarily give a different approach for Syriac word formation. While this approach may not fit well in a modern description of grammar, the modern grammarian is encouraged to understand how grammar is viewed in the Syriac world today, especially if that grammarian wishes to address a larger audience. ܫܠܡ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ

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CHAPTER 7
THE INTRODUCTION TO AWGEN MANNA'S LEXICON

Translated by
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In his introduction to his Syriac-Arabic Lexicon,[1] Awgen Manna gives a section describing the methodology of his work. This section is translated below.

SECTION 1

On the method we employed in this collection of ours:

Since the Aramaic language, like the rest of the Semitic languages, is built upon a known grammar and its derivatives vary from the root which is formed in an established way, it was felt necessary to indicate such a root. Therefore we wrote the root of every Aramaic entry at the beginning of the line preceded by two large dots to distinguish it from the lexical entries and we indicated these with an asterisk at the end. Next, we lined up every root according to its branches at the beginning of the line and next to it we gave the root conjugation in Arabic, indicating the differences of meaning and numbering in Indian (Arabic) numerals. Since our aim was to enrich schools, particularly by means of a book far removed from long and tedious discussions, we have avoided mentioning the standard derivatives whose forms are known in grammatical categories such as active and passive participles, roots of derived verbal stems, roots of adjectives, and nouns such as ܟ̇ܬܘܒܐ . ܟܬܒܐ . ܟ̇ܬܘܒܘܬܐ. ܟܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܟܬܝܒܘܬܐ . ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ. ܟ̇ܬܒܘܬܐ stemming from ܟܬܒ . ܐܬܟܬܒ . ܟܬܒ. ܟܬܒܐ, except in cases where we considered such a mention necessary—because of irregularity, rarity, need for additional explanation, or the existence of a meaning that diverges from the common meaning of the root. As for the definitions provided for the roots of adjectives, it has sufficed for the most part to give only some of the meanings followed by "etc."—the "etc." indicating that the adjective covers all the root's meanings. For example, in "ܩܫܝܘܬܐ, severity, austerity, etc.," the "etc." refers to the rest of the meanings of ܩܫܝ. Furthermore, we have not provided all noun plurals, only irregular ones and we have indicated masculine or feminine only when it

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[1] Manna, ܗܕܝܐ. ܗܕܝܐ ܕܠܫܢܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ.

was necessary in order to facilitate distinguishing one word from another. This was due to the general ease with which masculine may be distinguished from feminine noun forms. Desiring to make the book both easy to use and concise, we have used a number of abbreviations whose signs can be found in the following table.

: indicates that the following word is of Aramaic origin.

* indicates that the following word in conjunction with the word above it has a new meaning.

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a damma, for example: ܢܣܡܘܟ ܣܡܟ

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a fatha, for example: ܢܕܢܚ ܕܢܚ

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a kasra, for example: ܢܘܒ ܘܒ

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a damma or a fatha, for example: ܢܩܡܣ ܩܡܣ and ܢܩܡܘܣ

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a fatha or a kasra, for example: ܩܕ ܢܩܕ and ܢܩܕ

ܿ indicates that the Form I imperfect of this verb takes a damma or a fatha, for example: ܢܕܘܒ ܢܕܒ and ܕܒ

مج indicates that the verb is passive: ܐܬܚܒ "it/he was loved."

مج - مط indicates that the verb is passive and reflexive, for example: ܐܬܒܪ "it was broken, it broke."

ج indicates that the following noun is plural.

ذ indicates that the preceding noun is masculine.

ث indicates that the preceding noun is feminine.

ذ ث indicates that the preceding noun is both masculine and feminine.

مف indicates that the noun is passive.

فاعل indicates an active participle.

سمص indicates a verbal noun.

مثله or كالسابق indicates that the preceding word has the same meaning as the word above it.

كالتالي or كالتابع indicates that the preceding word has the same meaning as the one below it.

(قد : كلد) indicates that the preceding word is Chaldean [sc. Aramaic] and permissible to use.

مرة indicates that the following word is a nomina vicis [ism marra]

Note

If you are looking for a word and it is in its basic form (that is, not a derived form), look for it under its alphabetical entry. Otherwise, you should remove all additional letters (that is, those not belonging to the root) and then look for it in its proper place. Thus, if you want to find: ܢܘܓܕ . ܢܘܓܒ . ܗܕܡܘܕܗܐ . ܗܬܚܒܐ . ܡܝܠܟܬܐ . ܡܚܒܚܕܐ . ܡܝܡܗܕܗܟܕܐ . ܡܩܢܬܐ . ܡܒܐ . ܕܡܒܕ . ܚܒܐ . ܡܠܟܐ . ܐܬܒܕ . ܕܘܒ . ܩܒܐ look for them under . ܡܒܚܟ . ܢܟܠܒ . ܩܕܒܕ . ܩܕܝ . ܢܕܘܒ . ܢܕܝܠܕ ܢܕܝܠܕ . ܡܒܕ . ܚܒܕ . ܢܟܕ Similarly, if you do not find

. وَحَمَّد . نَجِيج and similar words in their proper places, look for them under their roots

حَنْبَد. حَبْبَد . حَزْد . فِي . فُد . وُد . تَد or بُد and compare accordingly.

SECTION 2

On the books we consulted—apart from the Holy Bible—in compilation of our book:

1. *Lexicon Syriacum* by Hasan bar Bahlul
2. The Syriac-Latin dictionary of the scholar Payne Smith [*Thesaurus Syriacus*]
3. *Al-Lubab* by the Maronite Father al-Qardahi
4. The dictionary of the Chaldean Metropolitan Toma Audo [*Simto d-leshono*: Syriac-Syriac dictionary]
5. Syriac-Latin dictionary by Michael
6. The Syriac-Latin *Treasure* by the Jesuit Father Brown
7. Selections from Rabban Hunayn the Doctor and ʿAnayeshu the Teacher
8. Selections from various other teachers
9. The *Flower of Knowledge* [*Zahrat al-Maʿrif*] by Yaʿqub al-Qatrbelly
10. *Turjuman* ["Translator"] of the Syriac language
11. The *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat the Persian Sage
12. The writings of St Ephrem: Rome and Lamy editions
13. The homilies of famous Narsai the Malpana, numbering about 100
14. The letters of Yeshuʿya(h)b Huzaya, the wondrous Patriarch
15. The letters of Timothy the Great, the famous Patriarch
16. Commentary on the sacraments of the church by Patriarch Timothy II
17. Commentary on church hierarchy by George the bishop of Arbil
18. *The Reasons of Feasts* by Tuma of Edessa and Qiyura his disciple
19. *The Paradise* of ʿAbdisho of Ṣoba [Nisibis]
20. *The Pearl* of ʿAbdisho of Ṣoba [Nisibis]
21. The *Collection of Synodical Canons* by ʿAbdisho of Ṣoba [Nisibis]
22. Ecclesiastical decrees by ʿAbdisho of Ṣoba [Nisibis]
23. The *Book of Divinity and Humanity* by Babai, the abbot of al-Azal Monastery
24. The *Scholia* of Theodore of Kashkar
25. The *Hexameron* of Emmanuel
26. The *Centuries* by Elia of Anbar
27. *The Bee* by Sulayman Bishop of Basra
28. *Commentary on John's Gospel* by Theodore [of Mopsuestia], the Expositor
29. The book of John bar Fenkaye
30. *The History* of the famous Thomas of Marga
31. The ascetical writings of Isaac of Nineveh
32. The *Commentary on the New Testament* of Ishoʿdad bishop of Haditha
33. *Gannath Busame* [The Garden of Delights]: A commentary on the lectionary according to the Chaldean Church Calendar
34. The *Explanation of Difficult Passages of the Torah* [*Sharh ghawamid al-tawra*]

35. An excellent medical book thought to be by Hunayn the Physician
36. The famous *Treatises* of Warda
37. Poetry of Khamis bar Qardahe
38. The book of Isaac of Shabdan
39. The *Grammar* of John bar Zoʿbi
40. The *Perfection of Ethics* and its appendices by John of Mosul
41. The *Life* of Joseph Busnaya
42. The story of Rabban Hormizd in metre
43. The story of Rabban Bar ʿIdtaʾ [ܒܰܪ ܥܕܬܐ]
44. Paradise of the Desert Fathers by Hnanishuʿ the Teacher. The Bedjan edition
45. The Story of Mar Ya(h)b Alaha and its appendices. The Bedjan edition
46. The Lives of Saints, vols. 1–4. The Bedjan edition
47. The *History* of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Bedjan edition
48. Aristotle's introduction to philosophy, *Eisagoge* ܐܝܣܰܓܘܓܝ
49. The *Book of the Soul* by Mushe bar Kepha
50. Discourses of Philoxenos of Mabbug on monks
51. The *History* of John of Ephesus
52. The *Book of Disputes* by Bar Ṣalibi known as ܕܪܽܘܫܝܐ
53. The *Ethicon* of Bar ʿEbroyo ܐܝܬܝܩܘܢ
54. The *Nomocanon* of Bar ʿEbroyo
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58. The *Candelabra* of Bar ʿEbroyo
59. The *Treasure-house of Mysteries* of Bar ʿEbroyo
60. The *Conversation on Wisdom* of Bar ʿEbroyo ܣܘܳܕ ܣܘܦܝܐ
61. The *Cream of Wisdom* of Bar ʿEbroyo ܚܐܘܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ
62. The Poems by Bar ʿEbroyo, edited by the Maronite Augustine Shababi
63. The *Laughable Stories* of Bar ʿEbroyo
64. The *Rhetoric* of Anton Rhetor
65. The *Treasures* of Yaʿqub of Bartelleh
66. The homilies of the famous St Isaac of Antioch

SECTION 3

Concerned with the mention of certain Aramaic sources not used in other lexica and the correction of certain of their [sc. the other lexica's] errors.

I previously indicated that when I consulted the books of the masters of the language, I discovered many sources—even Aramaic ones—which the dictionaries I referred to did not cover. Therefore, as a service to those who are interested, I wanted to here provide a few examples of these.

ܝܕܚܘܒܟ ܕܘܒܟ : (and its derivatives) to reverse; to tie a camel with a *rikas* [a rope which bound the camel's head to its feet]; to subdue; to humiliate; to overturn something; *to repel in the opposite direction*. The Antiochene [sc. St Isaac of Antioch] said: ܕܬܩܝܡ ܚܠܘܡ ܬܘܡ ܠܝܘ (ܦܠܕܟ) ܟܚܕܬܬܟ) ܠܐܢܬܟ ܕܟܟ ܕܠܝܒܟ ܝܚܠܟܬܘܡ. ܕܬܩܝܡ ܚܠܘܡ ܕܘܒܟ ܠܝܘ: ܠܐܢܬܟ ܕܘܝܕܝܤܘܗܕ ܕܝܚܟܬܗ ܝܡܘܕܝܚܘ ܟܠܟܗܘܕܟ: He also said, ܚܤܘܝܟܟ ܕܘܒܟ ܘܗܘܩܒܕ: ܘܡܐܠܬܟ ܦܤܕܟ ܘܟܘܒܝܬܟ. Again he says, ܚܝܘܟܬܚܕܗܟ ܕܝܟܠܟܗܟ ܘܒܝܚܚ.

ܠܐܘܗܟ (ܬܘܒܝܬܟ) ܢܚܒܟ : to attack; to assault; to plunder. The Antiochene also said: ܒܝܘܗܤ ܠܚܤ ܒܟܠ ܠܚܘܚܘܝܗ: ܠܝܝܗܤ ܘܗܝܗܝ ܩܕܬܬܗܟ.

ܩܕܒܟ ܗܘ ܕܟܕ ܡܝܤ ܤܘܒܤܕܟ ܕܟܕܘܗܝܤ ܘܘܗܤ : to gasp (2) to rot, decay. John bar Fenkaye says: ܘܘܗܤ ܘܗܟ: ܕܝܢܚܘܗܟ ܚܟܤܩܬܟ ܚܝܟܠܚܘܗܘܗ ܘܢܟܠܚܤ ܕܘܝܟ ܘܗܟ.

ܡܘܝܤ ܟܚܬܟܬܟ ܘܗ and ܝܡܢܝܒܟ : to imagine, to imagine something. Mushe bar Kepha says: ܕܝܟ ܩܟܝܗܟܗܝ ܝܡܝܢܤܠܘܝ ܝܚܒܕܟ. The author of the *Garden of Delights* says: ܩܗ ܕܩܒܝܕܬ ܢܝܒܟ ܚܝܟܚܬܗ ܘܗܝܟܠܝܟ.

In the Bible the word occurs meaning "to become weak, feeble, bored, or angry," and "to fight."

ܡܬܒܤ : to stink; for meat to stink (and it has this meaning in the Suwadaya dialect ["Suwadaya" refers to the modern neo-Aramaic colloquial of Assyrian/Chaldean Christian communities]). The author of the *Garden of Delights* says:

ܠܝܒܕܬܚ ܬܩܕܝ ܠܚܟܕ ܡܒܤ ܘܝܚܤܝܢܝ ܚܝܗ ܝܝ ܘܠܝܗܒ ܘܒܬܕܗܝ ܦܝܟܕܬܗܟ ܗܝܝ ܘܘܡܬܝܬܝ.

ܠܘܘܕܟ : to throw; to cast; to fling or hurl. Emmanuel says: ܟܠܘܩܬ ܚܥܒܬܟ ܒܕ ܒܝܤ ܬܘܘܕ ܠܚܝܗܟ ܘܘܡܝܕܝ: ܡܚܘܡܤܗܟ ܕܝܢܝܟܟ ܕܠܢܬܟ ܕܚܕܬ ܗܘܥܕܘ ܘܬܥܕܟ ܘܬܘܟܟ.

ܕܝܟ ܩܠܟܒ : to soil (to make dirty); to pollute. The author of the *Book of Medicine* says: ܢܝܟܟ ܒܟܠ ܝܚܚܟܝ ܘܘܡܚܕܘܚܬܟ ܚܗܡܩܟ.

ܝܥܡܩܘܤ ܡܥܒܤ : to grind; to ripen (grain); to swallow (medical powder). In the *Book of Medicine* it is written: ܠܝܩܕܟ ܚܡܘܟܟ ܘܬܝܡܚܤܟ ܘܝܚܘܡܬܝܟ ܘܘܕܠܩܡܝܕ ܝܥܡܩܘܤ ܘܝܠܟܟܝܤ ܚܕܘܡܬܟ.

ܝܥܩܩܗ ܤܩܩ ܘܚܬܢ ܗܟܡ ܝܥܩܩܗ ܕܝܢܬܩܟ ܘܬܘܘܕܟ ܘܚܕܬܩܟ ܠܘܚܩܩܟ ܚܡܘܗܘܬܟ : to swallow (medical powder) ܚܢܘܗܩܟ.

ܠܚܝܟ and its derivatives: to treat harshly, roughly. Anton of Takrit says: (ܢܘܕܟ) ܡܝܗܟܝܤܘܟܟ. ܘܡܝܗܟܡܒܝܩܩܟ ܘܬܘܟܟ ܚܠܚܟܗ ܘܗ ܘܗܡܝܤܤ ܠܟܗܘܡܩܩܗܤ (ܚܥܒܬܟ).

ܝܕܚܘܒܟ ܕܘܒܟ : to hide; to bring in; to cause to enter. Theophilus, the author of the story of Shumna and Gurya, says: ܘܚܒܝܬܟ ܘܩܒܕܘܟܟ ܝܕܚܘܒܟ ܤܕܟ ܤܕܟ ܕܝܠܚܚܘܝ.

These few examples suffice, so let us now turn to mentioning some of the mistakes of the lexica and correcting them.

ܒܚܙܪܐ : According to Qardahi, this word means "thumb." To support this, he relies on a passage in Mar Ephrem: ܡܢ ܒܣܝܪܐ ܡܒܙܕܢܐ ܘܕܡܐ: ܘܐܢܫܝܐ ܡܒܝܠܟܘ̈ܢ ܒܚܙܪܐ. The correct reading, however, is ܚܙܕܐ. The letter *b* is added and not part of the root.

ܕܩܢܐ or ܕܩܩܐ was explained by Bar Bahlul as *riqan*, by which he meant a carpenter's polishing tool. This is what he says: "ܕܩܢܐ: 'a wood plane' ܠܡܘܢܝܐ ܒܝܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܡܠܟܡܗ and in it is something whose length ranges between that of a wood plane and rope saw [? *dastarak*] and it is called a *riqan*." ܘܐܝܟ ܒܕ ܗܕܐ: ܕܩܩܐ. ܐܢܘ ܒܝܣ ܠܗܕܠܡܦ, ܕܠܡܘܕ ܒܝܗ ܒܠܟܕ ܟܠܠܦܐ "wood plane, *riqan*." But as for Father Qardahi, he did not observe all of this and instead took *riqan* to mean "henna," as it is defined in Arabic dictionaries. *Riqan*, however, here has been Arabized from Syriac and its meaning "wood plane," is obvious. It suffices to say that it was common for the authors of the lexica to Arabize Syriac words.

ܥܘܕܥܐ : interpreted by Father Qardahi as "vicious snake," but the correct meaning is "viciousness, craftiness, cunning," as is evident from Bar Bahlul, since he says, "ܥܘܕܥܐ: viciousness. ܡܬܥܕܥܐ the vicious one."

ܒܠܡܘܕܐ : interpreted by the above-mentioned Rev. Father [sc. Qardahi] to mean "man of pleasure," but the correct meaning is ܒܠܡܘܕܐ with *dolath* since it is a Greek word.

ܐܘܟܒܪܐ : interpreted by the above-mentioned Father to mean "atom" or "tiny particle," but the correct spelling is ܐܘܟܒܪܐ with *resh*. It is a Greek word. As for the meaning of the Syriac ܐܘܟܒܪܐ, its meaning is in the lexicon.

ܐܚܘܢܐ : Mr Smith interprets it to mean "miller," or "one who sieves." He was followed by Father Qardahi and Metropolitan Toma Audo. But the correct meaning is "mill," "grinder" or, "millstone turned by water." Bar Bahlul says, "ܐܚܘܢܐ: ܐܢܘ ܒܝܣ ܠܝܣܬܐ ܡܚܕܚܘܒܐ: mills, grinders, millstones; *'arb* grinder." *Tawahin* ['mills'] and *arha'* ['grinders'] are plurals of *tahun* ['mill'] and *raha* ['grinder']. As for *'arub* it is the plural of *'arb*, which means 'grinder' and is a word which has been arabized from the Syriac ܪܚܝܐ, which means 'millstone.' Bar Bahlul states "ܪܚܝܐ: ܐܢܘ ܒܝܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܗܝܬ, ܚܝܒ ܡܢܐ ܡܟܣܒ ܕܝܡ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܗܟܒܪܐ 'Water millstones with which wheat is ground.'" As for ܪܚܝܚܘܒܐ, it is the diminutive of ܪܚܝܐ.

ܒܚܡܘܟܐ Payne Smith defined it as a horn or trumpet and Father Qardahi and Brown the Jesuit followed him in this respect. This is an error which goes back to the centuries in which mediaeval scholars interpreted the meaning of the word in question. They took it to mean "artichoke," which is a thorny plant useful for medicine. In Persian it is called *kangar* and in colloquial Arabic, *ka'ub*. Bar Bahlul states: "According to Zachariah Rhetor it means 'horns'

ܡܐܪܓ ܓܕ ܗܕܐ: ܩܲܪܢܹܐ. ܒܸܛ ܘܓܕܢܐ], and according to Jacob of Serugh, it means 'thorn.' [ܩܲܪܢܹܐ ܒܸܛ ܚܵܩܒܐ]." As for the ancients understanding *qurun* to mean "artichoke" [*kharshaf*], it is evident from Bar Bahlul's explanation of ܟܚܘܟܐ as not at all carrying the meaning "horn," or "trumpet," since he states, "ܟܚܩܬܐ means 'horns':ܩܵܪܢܹܐ ܓܕ ܗܕܐ *akub* means *kangar* [sc. artichoke]. [He states also that] ܟܚܘܟܐ is a synonym of *kharshaf*."

ܦܸܕܬܐ and ܦܸܨܬܐ and ܦܸܕܟܐ : Payne Smith erroneously thought it to mean "wage," "reward" or "half wage." The correct meaning is "clump of earth," "solitary stone," or "half a baked brick," that is, a piece of dried or baked mud.

ܪܘܚܐ : Payne Smith thought it to mean "spirit" or "soul," relying on a statement of Bar ʿEbroyo in his grammar in which he remarks ܘܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܠܬܘܡܐ ܒܲܪ̈ܬ ܪܘܚܐ. ܘܡܓܙܝܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܡܚܕܢܐ ܡܚܙܐ ܟܬܐ ܚܠܝܘܬܢܐ̈ܣ ܠܚܕܐ. But the word ܪܘܚܐ in this sentence cannot be interpreted as "spirit" or "soul," as is obvious. Rather, its meaning is "breeze," or "wind." The translation of this sentence should therefore be: "a city of many winds and breezes with few meadows and forests." And proof of that Bar ʿEbroyo understood ܪܘܚܐ in this meaning can be seen in something he himself said while eulogizing a friend: ܐܦܹܢ ܝܚܝܒ ܕܥܡܦܟ ܒܓܕܬܗܬ ܓܕ ܦܥܟܝܐ: ܦܘ ܚܡܝܕܬܟܸܐ ܥܲܡܹܐ ܕܠܡܚ ܕܡܚܕ ܒܠܐܗܕ ܪܘܚܐ.

I have only written all of this out of a desire to assure the mind of those interested in this abridgement. I have not intended to criticize those most excellent scholars who laboured first and who are worthy of gratitude and eternal praise, especially when we consider that those mistakes and ones like them should not be attributed to them, but to copying errors of ignorant scribes whose intention was usually to earn their living. Therefore, it should be no wonder our own lexicon is not devoid of similar mistakes, even given the effort and diligence we have put forth to avoid them. We thus seek the kindness and understanding of the esteemed readers.

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